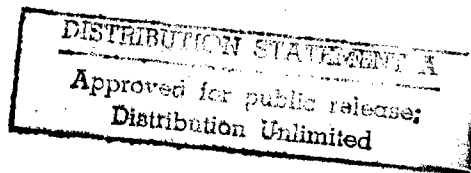


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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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25 July 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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NEW ORGANIZATION, ROLE OF INVESTIGATIVE ORGANS DISCUSSED

Tirana DREJTESIA POPULLORE in Albanian Jan-Mar 84 pp 3-12

[Article by Qemal Lame, Investigator General: "The New Investigative Organization and Its Duties"]

[Text] The policy of the party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha on the building and defense of socialism have illuminated the path of revolution and the triumph of socialism in our country. The improvement of our society's superstructure has opened great perspectives in our country for the tempering of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for political and economic independence and for the gradual raising of the material, cultural and intellectual level of the working masses. Comrade Enver stressed at the 8th AWP Congress that "Popular authority is the greatest victory and the most powerful weapon of the working class and the working masses for the building of socialism and the defense of the fatherland. We therefore safeguard this authority like the apple of our eye and strengthen it continually in the struggle with the dangers that threaten it, with liberalism and bureaucracy (Enver Hoxha "Report on the 8th AWP Congress", p. 92).

The party has devoted continual attention to strengthening and preserving the role of organs of authority and justice and to respecting rigorously the norms of the constitution for the safeguarding of the democratic character of our popular authority. Within this framework are also included measures that have been taken to separate investigation from the organs of internal affairs and to reorganize it as an independent legal organ subordinate to the highest organ of state authority, the People's Assembly.

The designation of investigation in the Constitution as a special state activity is an important political, ideological, organizational and legal measure which has to be made together with the safeguarding of the proletarian character of our organs of law and the defense of the party line in the application of the class struggle to the investigation, discovery and prevention of enemy and criminal activity while respecting the requirements of socialist legality. The organization of investigation as an independent organ creates conditions which should eliminate administrative influences, etc. In order for this measure to be just and principled, therefore, it is necessary that we have revolutionary convictions and concepts, because this is not simply a mechanical separation, simply an organizational division, but an important organization with great effects for our socialist justice.

A distinctive characteristic of investigation in the Socialist People's Republic of Albania is: first, that it presents a special function of state activity; second, that its whole activity serves to render justice and operates on the basis of the Code of Penal Procedure; third, that investigation is a state organ of the dictatorship of the proletariat for the investigation of penal actions; and, fourth, that investigation does not perform operational activity. These features of the reorganized investigative organs emphasize their original character.

1. The Marxist-Leninist Principles of the Investigative Organization

Investigation is constructed upon the same scientific principles as the other organs of our state. As an organ of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat for the investigation of penal acts designated by the law and in accordance with the tasks it performs and the features it presents, the law regarding investigation places the basic principles of our socialist law at the foundation of the organization and activity of investigation. Article 2 of the law states that "Investigation, in all of its activity, is guided by the policy of the Albanian Workers' Party and is based on the ideology of Marxism-Leninism."

The legal sanctioning of these two fundamental principles indicates that the leading role of the party and Marxist-Leninist ideology are important conditions for the activity of our organs. Thanks to the work and great assistance given by the party, investigative activity has continually improved. Regular information by the party on major problems, on shortcomings and weaknesses, reports and rendering of accounts in the basic party organizations on the execution of tasks have increased the leading role of the party and investigation has raised its work to a higher level.

The 8th party congress set as an important goal for all the organs, including the organs of investigation, the leadership of the party in the activity of investigation in order to raise its role and activity to a higher level. The leading role of the party in investigation should be seen not only in our general activity, but, first of all, in every concrete investigative act.

This requires, first, that we should be guided by the resolutions and directives of the party in every action regarding the application of the material and penal procedural law to the investigation of an affair. We should view every investigative action through the class prism as party workers since the party has trained us, in the first place, as political cadres who apply and defend the party line in the investigation of penal acts.

Second, we should execute penal policy according to party interests in conformity with the requirements of the law. Thus, for example, in deciding about postponing, suspending, or not taking up a case in accordance with the legal requirements, it is necessary to bear in mind the state of penal actions and their dissemination in a district or zone, etc.

Third, we should be relentless in the face of every violation or defect in the execution of resolutions and directives of the party. In the work we accomplish to implement party resolutions and directives, we should be exigent and rigorous in order to execute them with precision and we should not permit anyone, no matter who, to act in opposition to them. Our task is to ensure the leading role of the party everywhere and, when we see that transgressions occur or that bureaucratic or liberal attitudes exist in investigation, in the policy and procedure or the application of laws, we must not be tolerate of them. In this way, shortcomings and weaknesses will be eliminated in time, as will the errors that cadres and workers may make, the activity of penal procedure will always be on a correct path, according to the teachings of the party.

The new reorganization creates such links with the leading organs of the party and the government and permits us to inform them directly. In order to realize this goal, an improvement has been envisaged for the process of provincial information on the state of penal actions, on serious problems, on causes, shortcomings and weaknesses, on cases of violations of laws and concrete measures that are taken or that we consider should be taken by other organs for their prevention.

Along with problematic information, the investigation organ must also increase its research and generalization activity in order to raise current and future questions regarding areas where there are a great number of problems. The fact that some studies have been esteemed by the party and the government serves to encourage us to eliminate empiricism, practicicism and lack of initiative on the part of cadres who have valuable material, but hesitate to raise problems, having a tendency to resolve the tasks of the moment. In this direction, where we have a great many faults, we should work to assist the cadres at close range with concrete materials, work and help to improve the method and style of work.

Fourth, we should discuss the problems that disturb investigative activity in the party and under its leadership we should mobilize to raise the level of work everywhere in conformity with the requirements of the times. An important factor is the placing of all our work under the leadership and control of the basic party organization. We should be linked, according to affiliation, in the most appropriate forms with the basic organizations and bureaus of the party in order to inform them about the penal actions that occur in the territory or zone where they operate, as well as about the measures we have taken or which are required to be taken by the other organs as well for the organization of preventive work and the increase of vigilance on the part of the masses with regard to enemies and criminals, violations of laws and antisocialist actions.

Article 3 of the law "On Investigation" states that "In the investigation of penal acts, investigation is controlled by the principles of the class struggle and the mass line."

The principle of the class struggle in the activity of investigation is conditioned by the tasks which it has regarding the investigation of penal acts as more open manifestations of the class struggle, after they strike directly at the social relations protected by law. Penal acts, crimes or transgressions

infringe upon our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, our socialist economic system, our socialist democracy, the life, liberty and dignity of our citizens and their constitutional rights in the areas of the state, the society, the economy, politics, etc. Investigation must always evaluate these with a political eye, uncovering their character and content, the harm they do to the party, the people, the fatherland and socialism and, in accordance with the social danger they present, take appropriate measures in conformity with its jurisdictions.

The participation of the masses in investigations is accomplished in the most varied forms without damaging the inquiry. Quantitative improvements and increases have arisen from popular investigations and from decisions to bring penal matters before the masses, interventions in writing, etc. But flaws in their quality and effectiveness are observed in this direction, because they do not have sufficient influence on the reduction of penal acts and violations of the laws.

The more effective application of the line of the masses in investigation revolutionizes work and increases responsibility for the state of our work indices and the dynamics of penal acts. The inclusion of the working masses in investigative activity in more appropriate forms will increase the interest of the working class and the working peasantry, and social opinion will be raised for the protection of laws and in the struggle against manifestations of petit-bourgeois psychology. Life indicates that these are more pronounced in the attitude toward work and property. The greatest possible inclusion of the masses in the prevention of acts against property, of thefts, damage and abuses, etc., on the one hand will make them aware of the harmful consequences these manifestations have for common property and, as they live with the preoccupation of realizing the goals of the plan and the reduction of costs, they will also stand up against penal acts which damage the fruits of their labor. On the other hand, enemies and criminals will have more difficulty in acting if the vigilance of the masses is increased and does not give them a chance to penetrate. Aside from this, our investigative work will also be easier after they are discovered in time without harming us.

An important task of our investigative organs is the struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism in the investigation of penal acts which, as the party teaches us, constitute two major dangers for our socialist order.

Under the leadership of the party, the investigative organs have struggled resolutely and have achieved successes in the fight against bureaucracy. The investigative process in our country is distinguished by its rapidity and effectiveness. Some very dangerous social acts are investigated within a few days and within a week the guilty party is tried and sentenced. The investigative organ in the districts must be encouraged by these results to further improve the quality and speed of investigations and the preventive effect of penal procedure.

Respect for the term of an investigation is not an aim in itself. It has its legal side, but in the first place it is a political and ideological problem that, by means of the investigation, we should defend the interests of the

party and the state while uncovering enemy and criminal activity. For this purpose, matters are given a required deadline for investigation, so that the truth may be uncovered in breadth and depth and, if it is reasonable and necessary, an extension of the term may be requested from the prosecutor. If an investigation is made with intensity, if the time is properly utilized and if matters begin with sufficient data and it is constantly required that the investigations be based on proof, eliminating cases which are sometimes carried out more on the basis of accusation than of proof, we will have positive results in practice with respect to uncovering criminal activity, and matters will be investigated in time, without waiting for the legal deadline to expire. If operations proceed in this manner, the need will not arise for an extension of the deadline for investigations. This is an exceptional occurrence which concerns the nature of the affair and the circumstances that emerge from the dynamics of the work in its investigation. For that reason, investigative workers with a correct class and legal world view will see to it that investigations are developed fully and objectively and that no panel, enemy or criminal act will remain undiscovered.

The policy of the penal procedure requires the investigative organs to perform studied work in the application of educational measures in the two forms, as well as the thorough political understanding of this task by the investigator. We should always apply the policy of penal procedure in accordance with the teachings of the party on the development of the class struggle in socialism. In the execution of the penal procedure in daily practice, it must be borne in mind that we should differentiate enemies and criminals from those who have entered on the path of crime by chance. The Code of Penal Procedure and the Penal Code allow us to punish severely enemies, traitors and criminals, and to develop differentiated types of penal prosecution for elements who have fallen victim to bourgeois-revisionist propaganda and petit-bourgeois vestiges and who, guided by the interests of the party and the people, have the possibility of correcting themselves without the application of penal measures.

The resolutions and teachings of the party and respect for the Code of Penal Procedure and the law regarding the investigative organs are an objective necessity for the development of an investigator with class and party spirit and objectivity in accordance with the development of the class struggle. For our organs of justice, the principle of socialist legality is an important matter which takes concrete form in every action performed by the investigator.

The changes in the Code of Penal Procedure regarding the revocation of arrest by the prosecutor and the designation of 1 month as the legal deadline for the investigation of matters that return from court, as well as other details, are intended to strengthen the prosecutor's control in investigations. In every action of the investigator, it is important that we create full conditions for this control and that we generally strengthen the activity of our organs of investigations, tribunal and prosecution in order to preserve the revolutionary character of our penal process.

Another important principle in the organization and activity of investigation is the principle of the independence of investigative organs. This is an important principle in the organization of investigation. The independence of

investigation from the organs of administration and from local influence is important in order to ensure the application of the laws against penal acts everywhere and by anyone in an identical manner. This helps in better combatting manifestations of bureaucracy and liberalism and in requiring the same application of the same laws to guilty parties in the whole republic.

The higher organs of state administration and the local organs of government and state administration do not have the right to interfere in the sphere of activity of the investigative organs or to dictate the manner of treatment or resolution of matters in the latter's competence; they may also not give compulsory instructions or orders. The procedural activity of tribunal--investigative--prosecution with respect to concrete matters is constructed in accordance with legal regulations and does not leave room for interference or subordination. This constitutes still another feature of the original character of the organization of investigation as an independent legal organ.

The principle of independence for investigation does not exclude, but, on the contrary, implicitly assumes cooperation and coordination of tasks with other state, economic, social and legal organs which have to do with the common activity of strengthening the juridical order. At the request of the people's council of the district, the investigative organ in a district is accountable to the former for its activity, for the investigation and prevention of penal acts. This important norm also attests to the special democratic character of the investigative organs and to the importance that the representative organs in a district have in the exercise of their control even with regard to investigative organs.

The investigative organs, in the investigation of penal acts, restrict themselves to the application of the law. In practice, shortcomings are observed in the application of procedural provisions. These arise from the poor work methods of some investigators, as well as from defects in regard to different versions cropping up, verification of claims by the accused and by witnesses, and a lack of application of the necessary technical and scientific means used to discover the truth. The elimination of these shortcomings requires raising the ideological and professional level and increasing the scientific level of investigation, as well as strengthening internal control in district investigative organs and assisting in control on the part of the central apparatus.

Investigation is constructed as a rigorously centralized organ. The constitution and the special law regarding investigation have set the principle of democratic centralism as the foundation of the structure of the system of investigative organs. The constitution sanctions that the Investigator General and his deputy are named and dismissed by the People's Assembly and, for the deputy, also by the Presidium of the People's Assembly between sessions. The head of the investigative organ in a district and the investigator are named or dismissed by the Investigator General.

The principle of centralism in investigation is an imperative necessity of iron proletarian discipline. This centralism in investigative organs ensures unity

in investigative activity, which is dictated by the unity in the application of socialist legislation.

In accordance with the principle of centralism, investigation is organized and operates on the basis of a single direction. We understand by the principle of the unity of investigation that all of the investigative organs are closely connected among themselves, thus forming an organizational unity and this unity in the activity of investigation leads to the decision regarding a single direction by the Investigator General in the performance of state activity with respect to the investigation of penal acts.

The investigative organs are the Office of the Investigator General and the district investigative organs. The Office of the Investigator General is the highest organ of investigation. At the head of investigation is the Investigator General, who directs all investigative activity.

In our state, the unity and single leadership in the investigative organs does not exclude or restrain initiatives and independent activity on the part of the lower organs which are so necessary and imperative for the performance of investigative tasks. The investigation units in districts and at the center, and the investigator, operate with initiative for the direction and development of investigations to discover the act and the guilty party, as well as in the making of every decision regarding the execution of orders and instructions given by the Investigator General.

2. The Duties and Rights of the Investigative Organs Emphasize the Necessity of the Organization and Scientific Direction of Work

The improvement of the organization and direction of investigative work is a major task in the framework of the reorganization. The activity of every organ and every cadre must be placed on the foundation of new requirements established by the party for investigation, for raising the level of organization and scientific direction, as well as of the struggle against manifestations of empiricism and practicism. The directorates of the Office of the Investigator General and the apparatus in general must remain at the head of problems. The activity of investigation as a special organ has produced many requirements to which we must respond with energy. At the outset, we should concentrate attention on the organization and scientific direction, as well as on the method and style of work. We should proceed further with the positive experience we have had until now and increase the role of the investigative organs among directors so that they may pursue the problems of the zone in time, provide aid for the matter under investigation and give their help in solving problems. Similarly, the district investigative organ has the task of improving the method of work organization and increasing the role of the investigator in the correct and rapid resolution of matters. The problems of the progress of work are made the object of analyses in the council of investigation and, for matters which meet with obstacles, timely assistance from the directorate and sectors at the headquarters is requested. Cooperative links with the state organs should be established and expanded. These assist the daily work and joint activity for the formation of the socialist juridical order.

The organization and scientific direction are conditioned, first, by the tasks which are set by the party at the current stage of the country's development and, second, by the development of the class struggle in order to know continually better the forms, tactics and methods used by the enemy, in order to train constantly in the art of investigation and in order to uncover, prevent and punish with force and in the required time every enemy and criminal activity.

The internal and external situations in which we build and defend socialism require the further strengthening of the juridical order. Statistical data on penal acts, although they are low, draw attention to the fact that we must do more careful work in order to discover in time internal enemy activity and that of foreign intelligence. Penal acts against the state, although they are very few, are particularly important because of the consequences they have for the fate of the revolution and socialism.

The Code of Penal Procedure and the law regarding investigation scientifically regulate the tasks of investigation in the discovery and prevention of penal acts. In order to implement these in life, we must raise our activity to the height required by the times and place stress on qualitative improvement. But the discovery of penal acts in investigation is one of the major indices of work. This requires unremitting labor and the exertion of all mental and physical forces. Intensive work, investigative capacity and the direction of investigators in a studied manner always yield positive results. The experience gained by the investigative organs and the constant requirements that have been made have increased their power of discovery. Special improvement is required in the level of development of investigators for actions in the economy and for better knowledge of economic legislation. The investigative organs, in order to perform their task well, must have the necessary knowledge regarding economic matters, as well as other areas of industry, agriculture, art, culture, etc.

The nature of investigative activity imposes strict centralization and proletarian discipline in such a manner as to apply the law identically everywhere and prevent subjective judgements. In the duties and rights of the investigative organs, according to article 9 of the law, the compulsory character of orders and instructions is sanctioned. The orders and instructions of the Investigator General are intended to establish norms for important problems of investigative work in both general matters and concrete ones. The execution of these is obligatory for the organs of investigation and for every investigator. For this purpose, normative legal acts are prepared which establish norms for the most important investigative activity.

The regulation "On the duties, rights and competence of investigative organs" holds an important place in the legal acts that have been prepared. The composition of this regulation is pervaded by attention to the concretization of the duties and rights of the Office of the Investigator General, its directorates and sectors, as well as of the district investigative organs and investigators. The functional tasks and competence necessary for every structure and cadre are defined so that they may be realized. The relations of

investigation with the other state organs, as well as with the prosecutor's office, the court and the organs of internal affairs, are regulated in a clear and full manner.

Investigations are performed by the cadres appointed as investigators by the Investigator General. An investigator from the district investigative organ and investigators of the directorates of the Office of the Investigator General are appointed for investigations. Investigative actions for the investigation of a matter, according to paragraph 2 of article 55 of the Code of Penal Procedure, are performed by both the head of the district investigative organ and the Investigator General, if they think that they should investigate the matter which they take for action themselves. The investigative organ, in the investigation of matters within its competence, is the main procedural figure. In order to realize and guarantee this matter, it is a role that no investigative act with respect to the matter which it has under investigation is carried out without knowledge of this.

The head of the district office of investigation gives orders and instructions which are compulsory for the investigator. This is an important principle which exerts a positive influence on the progress of work and on the timely resolution of matters. When there are opposing opinions, the head of district investigation, before he decides on the matter, can bring it up for discussion at the investigative council in order to obtain the opinion of cadres.

The investigator, on the basis of the Code of Penal Procedure, operates with initiative for the direction and development of investigations to discover the act and the guilty party, as well as to make every decision while conducting general, full and objective investigations and to execute the orders and instructions that are given to him. If his opinions differ, he has the right to complain to the Investigator General without suspending the investigation of the matter. This rule ensures a correct and rapid investigation and prevents arbitrary and unlawful actions, which are foreign to our investigative process.

The application of legality in the investigative organs is a necessity for raising the quality of investigation and strengthening internal control by the head of the district investigation office. In this way, the quality of investigation is increased and procedural errors and other shortcomings which delay the timely investigation and judgement of the act and the guilty party are eliminated.

The increase in effectiveness and quality of investigations requires continual cooperation with the other organs. Cooperation pursues two goals: on the one hand, it helps to uncover activities, in breadth and depth, to know the situation in detail, and each organ should assist according to its competence in the discovery of penal acts and legal violations. On the other hand, errors, shortcomings and weaknesses are discovered and measures are taken to avoid damaging consequences. The party teaches us, therefore, that the investigative organs should cooperate closely with the State Security Force [Sigurimi], with the Prosecutor's Office and with the court, without infringing upon one another's competence. These have their duties defined by law and are fully responsible for the judgements, proceedings and decisions that they make.

Cooperation between the investigative organs and the prosecutor and court has taken on a very full form. The joint activity of organs of justice assist effectively in rendering justice and in preventing penal acts. At the present stage, we must increase cooperation for the tasks that we have in the application of a studied penal policy in conformity with legal requirements and we must utilize the most advantageous form of work to educate citizens in the spirit of respect for socialist legality.

In the framework of cooperation between the investigative organs and the other organs, cooperation with the organs of internal affairs is also important in order to discover and punish in time enemy and criminal activity. Our organs have important tasks defined by law for which coordinated work is required. According to party instructions, the investigative organs and the organs of internal affairs should organize continual cooperation and assist each other in the thorough uncovering of enemy and criminal activity.

The prevention of penal acts is a task involving the most effective organization of cooperation in the problems of the study of penal acts, after the emergence from their data and dynamics of important problems in the direction of their extent, composition, consequences and of measures that must be taken to improve the situation. In accordance with the indices of penal acts, the internal front should be strengthened in order to prevent and always punish in time penal acts and foreign manifestations. Differentiated work should be done with the people in order to prevent penal acts, legal violations and other anti-socialist acts. This constitutes an important factor for the continual reduction of crime in our country.

It is different in bourgeois and revisionist countries where crime, as well as economic and financial crises, which have caught the bourgeoisie as though in an iron vise, has taken on galloping proportions and has made a deep social wound of dramatic dimensions. In the United States alone, 12 million crimes were committed in 1982 and every year 13,500 murders are committed. In Japan, 1.5 million crimes of various kinds were committed in 1982. In France, in comparison with the previous year, crime increased by 26 percent. "We are in a crisis because of the continual increase in crime," declared the Attorney General of Italy recently. Last year in Naples alone, 265 people were killed by criminals of the "Camorras." The spokesman for the Serb chauvinists, Tanjug, only made known 375 penal acts against the state in Yugoslavia in 1982 and did not mention the hideous crimes against the people in Kosovo and in other Albanian areas where, with chains of tanks and army and police bayonets, they drenched innocent people in blood who demanded the legal constitutional rights to declare a republic in the framework of the federation.*

*With respect to the spring massacre of 1981, the Serb chauvinists gave official notice of only nine acts, but many sources, both Yugoslav and Western European, gave information to the effect that at least 600 people were killed. One third of the army and 60,000 police were sent on an emergency basis to Kosovo and a rigorous purge was begun which was baptized with the name "political differentiation." ("Zëri i popullit", 7 September 1983)

We will successfully accomplish the important tasks set by the party if we devote greater attention to ideological and political education involving the teachings of the party and the works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, as well as to a continual improvement of our technical and professional capacity. Only in this way will each person emerge as master of his work, bearing his responsibility and operating with high competence.

The party has taken the necessary measures for the reorganization of the investigative organs and their normal activity. Our important task is the spread of knowledge regarding the legal provisions about investigation so that the working masses and the state organs may become acquainted with the original character of investigation in our country and with the further deepening of the democratic character of our organs of justice.

In order to implement in life the tasks set by the 8th party congress and the last plenum of the party central committee, it is necessary to increase the scientific level of the investigation of penal acts in such a way that investigative activity may respond to the requirements of the times. In the investigation of penal acts, we should increase demands for the discovery of enemies and criminals; we should concentrate our attention on the responsibility of guilty parties and leading personnel who do not perform their duties in accordance with the law; we should raise socio-political problems in the area of the economy; and, under the leadership of the party, we should more effectively organize work for the prevention of penal acts and the communist education of the masses.

With the work and struggle of cadres, under the leadership and direction of the party, we should continually strengthen the investigative organs so that they may always constitute a sure weapon in the hands of the working class and the working masses for the defense of the Albanian Workers' Party and the socialist state, and so that they may help in the socialist construction of the country according to the principle of self-reliance.

For the achievement of these lofty goals, the cadres of the investigative organs have been mobilized and are working with optimism and revolutionary spirit, with all their strength, so that the measures taken may be fully implemented in life and so that the investigative organs may always act and function as the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha instruct.

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INADEQUATE STAFFING OF SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTES DEPLORED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 13 May 84 p 1

[Editorial: "Science Justifies Itself When It Is Highly Efficient"]

[Text] The contribution of our young science to the construction of socialism in our country and to the great successes achieved by our people is well known. Our science is converted into a broad activity which is built and develops according to a plan; it is extended to new and never cultivated fields, has improved the level of studies and, now it speaks its word with competency about the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the great tasks assigned by the present stage and development of our economy and culture. Its high efficiency is a general characteristic of our scientific activity. This is shown in the best way possible by the design and execution, with our own forces, of all the projects which the economy and defense of our country need, such as: our hydro-power stations, the new port in Vlore, the railroads, the deep drilling wells, the mineral enrichment plants and other important industrial projects; the solution of many technical and technological issues of production; the production of various machines for all sectors of our socialist economy; the increase of agricultural yields; and the improvement of breeds in livestock. Very valuable improvements also exist in the social, historical, linguistic, economic, political sciences and other areas. At the foundation of these achievements you can find the deep scientific thought of our scholars and researchers who, with the teachings of our party and of Comrade Enver in their hearts and minds, have given and are giving their aid so that scientific studies and research work will permeate and precede every work for the solving of the present and future issues.

Now, the task is to further advance the scientific work and to improve even more its effectiveness, because, as the party has stressed, science fully justifies itself when it has a high social effectiveness. This necessity becomes even more imperative in the present conditions of development of the country when in all the sectors of social activity, which are involved in the intensive road, qualitative work and high yield and fruitfulness are required. But, why does it happen? Of course, there are scientific institutions in industry, agriculture and construction which work with high effectiveness, solving the important issues that have brought great profits to the economy. From this vantage point, it is worthwhile to generalize and to disseminate much better than until now the advanced experience

of the Institute of Corn and Rice in Shkoder and of the Institute of Agricultural Research for Wheat in Lushnje--the effectiveness of the studies of these institutes has taken concrete form--in high yields in production, the experience of the Institute of Studies on Construction Technology for some studies for the production of new construction materials, the experience of some institutions of the Academy of Sciences and so forth. However, we cannot say that all our scientific institutions and organizations work with the required effectiveness. Some of them which have not justified themselves properly by giving concrete results in production. Thus, for example, the Institute of Mines is approaching the first year of its creation and its work, so far, is not adequate. Labor productivity and effectiveness are low; this is also shown in the fact that three themes on the nomenclature of the Council of Ministers, which had to be terminated at the end of last year, have still not been discussed at scientific council and approved. The Ministry of Industry and Mines under whose jurisdiction this institute is placed, should evaluate its work and guide it better. Also, there is no reason at all for the ministry to delay for so long the appointment of the director of this institute. Also, the Institute of Geological Studies and Design and certain fodder, forest and fruit growing stations must be criticized for low effectiveness. More effectiveness is required from some social science institutions which have limited publications. Some workers of these institutions, after defending their dissertations and receiving their scientific titles and degrees, abandon them in drawers and do not bother to publish them; this must not be permitted. Then, you may ask the question: who uses these works? This means: To make "science for the sake of science" and to make "science" for the sake of titles and degrees.

When you seek the reasons for the low effectiveness of the scientific work of some scientific organizations, you certainly take into consideration a first-hand link, such as the training and fitness of cadres. Here there are some issues. There are many scientific institutes which have not been filled with cadres in accordance with their staffing. For example, the Institute of Mechanical Studies and Design, the Institute of Mines, the Institute of Geology, the Institute of Hygiene and Epidemiology and so forth. Or, as it was revealed at a meeting of the party committee for Tirana District, in our scientific institutions we still continue to appoint cadres who do not respond to the level of scientific work. Thus, for instance, from the 16 cadres who were appointed at the Institute of Studies and Design for Light Industry and the Food Industry during the past 2 years, eight of the 18 cadres appointed were inadequate. Such cases have also been observed in the Institute for Vegetables and Potatoes and in others. It is obvious that from such cadres you cannot expect work with high effectiveness. Also, in our scientific organisms there are still unsuitable workers who have no passion and desire for scientific work. They, as the party has pointed out, reduce the effectiveness of scientific work and cultivate mediocrity. These negative phenomena have also been recorded in other periods. However, they have not been properly evaluated by some basic party organizations. In the process of activity, the issues of training, of decision making, of fitness of cadres, of involvement with high requirements by cadres and of the removal of inadequate workers must be given more attention; they must be analyzed with party-mindedness and not from the positions of a sick society and of petit-bourgeois sentimentality.

The material-laboratory base also plays a great role in the improvement of the effectiveness of scientific activity. This has been continually reinforced thanks to the particular concern of the party. Nevertheless, there is still room for its best possible utilization, because, there are still apparatuses which, although have cost a great deal to the state, are abandoned as stolen property and are not being used. The coordination of work for the utilization of the existing material-laboratory base, which today constitutes a weak link, would be of great profit.

The effectiveness of study work is a very important aspect of the scientific policy of the party. For this reason, the party organizations must see that all our scientific workers are put into action with strong requirements for solving the issues assigned by the technical and scientific revolution in our days, always insuring a high effectiveness of studies.

9100

CSO: 2100/49

INSUFFICIENT KNOWLEDGE OF CADRES IN REGIONAL HEALTH UNITS

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 9 May 84 p 3

[Article by Sali Berisha, teacher in the Faculty of Medicine: "Knowledge of the Epidemiology of Illnesses, a Major Matter for Specialized Services"]

[Text] The improvement and constant development of a number of specialized services throughout the whole country, in accordance with instructions of the 11th plenum of the Central Committee of the party of January 1971, are some of the great achievements of our socialist public health system. Specialists and groups of trained specialists supplied with modern instruments and apparatus work in these services. Their increase marks a great qualitative leap in the diagnosis and cure of various illnesses. These services have also been transformed into a sound university and post-graduate teaching base. Following the example of cardiology, many of them have begun to direct, in an organized manner, the technical and vocational improvement of appropriate specialists throughout the whole country. The scientific life of specialized services has become continually more vigorous. Their chief cadres have defended their scientific degrees and now direct study themes in various posts. They have compiled card files as well as methods of tracking down and hospitalizing illnesses of greater interest to specialists.

But with all the achievements noted in the activity of specialized services as a whole and of specialists in particular, a certain harmful deviation from the general rule is observed, sometimes even from the general problems of the specialty itself. Thus, if incontestable achievements have been made in the clinical direction, i.e. in the diagnosis and treatment of illnesses, inactivity and unjustifiable delays are observed in the preventive medical aspects of their activity. But the latter has been and is at the core of the basic direction of our public health system as a whole and of specialized services in particular. The application and implementation in life of this great and deeply scientific direction require the compilation and application, with scientific discipline, of programs to combat harmful factors and highly contagious chronic diseases.

It has been clearly and definitively proven today that clinical medicine itself is not in a position to solve the general problems of cases of illness and mortality from various illnesses, while preventive medicine can prevent, in considerable measure, not only contagious illnesses, but also many, many

non-contagious illnesses such as arteriosclerosis, arterial hypertension, rheumatic illnesses and especially, many other acquired and congenital illnesses. Under conditions of the continual improvement in the wellbeing of the working masses and the increase in the average life span, the struggle to prevent chronic illnesses by means of the application of designated programs is made ever more acute. But the composition of local or national programs for the prevention of contagious or non-contagious diseases requires, first of all, as an imperative condition, an epidemiological knowledge of these diseases and therefore a knowledge of their spread, identification of their causes, factors and circumstances that have an influence on their origin and development, as well as the dynamics of the morbidity and mortality from these diseases. Without possession of these data, it is impossible to talk about the development of a successful preventive struggle against diseases. In fact, good work is done throughout our whole country in tracking down and giving hospital care, particularly in the case of those diseases specified in a special resolution of the Council of Ministers. But the data from all this work of tracing and hospitalization must be submitted to a competent epidemiological and statistical analysis in the specialized services and must then serve as a basis for the designation and development of programs to fight specific diseases on both a local and a national level, a task that is not being properly accomplished today. There is a lack in these services of competent people who must occupy themselves with the treatment of these data. This is the one-sided treatment of the problem of tracing and hospitalization. It is a fact that for special clinical problems and especially for sub-branches of specialties, "sub-specialists" have been found and appointed, while no such people exist for such general and important problems. Within the specialty, it is absolutely necessary to have specialists or cores of specialists who should occupy themselves mainly and particularly with problems of epidemiology and the struggle against the more important diseases. But in any case, the training of special cadres is one side of the problem. In actuality, it is necessary that all specialists should broaden their outlook, should constantly immerse themselves further in the problems of the epidemiology of diseases which they diagnose, study and treat every day. This also requires that they should emerge from the "shell" of their service in the clinic. In districts, in cooperation with basic public health organisms, they can organize studies of the morbidity, causes, circumstances and factors that favor the origin and development of this or that disease or they can control the application of programs to fight them.

The traditions of our medicine in the field of preventive medicine are among the best. Years ago, after the liberation, with few cadres and a dearth of equipment, but strong and serene in the correct directives of the party, it accomplished in record time what medicine in many other developed countries was unable to accomplish in decades and even in centuries.

12249

CSO: 2100/50

FIDELITY OF PEOPLES POLICE CADRES HAILED

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 13 May 84 p 3

[Article by Ilir Cano: "On the Occasion of Peoples Police Day: in Close Connection With the People"]

[Text] Some 39 years have passed since the day when the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha created the People's Police Force to defend the Socialist People's Republic of Albania and its socialist juridical order.

The personnel of the People's Police, composed of faithful sons of the people and expartisans in the Anti-fascist War of National Liberation and in the country's commands, with the teachings of the party in their minds and hearts, have resolutely developed the class struggle against enemies, traitors and gangs of criminals and have taken active part in the realization of the party's splendid program for the reconstruction of the country and the defense of the victories of the revolution.

In these 39 years of unceasing work and struggle, the personnel of the People's Police have made an important contribution to the prevention and discovery of enemy and criminal activity and to the full security of the socialist juridical order. The police organs have always successfully fulfilled their tasks and have constantly increased their effectiveness in the struggle to prevent socially dangerous acts and violations of socialist legality. They come to this anniversary with better successes in the area of military, physical and professional training, with high vigilance, with strong discipline and full military readiness for the successful fulfillment of tasks.

In the struggle against cultivated methods and practices which the enemies of the party and the people, with the multiple agent Mehmet Shehu at their head, attempted to use, the organs of the People's Police have increased and further strengthened their party spirit and objectivity in the exercise of their functions and are always working better to know and apply the party line, its policy and norms, the laws of the state and the other legal acts that they assign for oversight and application. The police cadres correctly understand and evaluate the tasks defined by our socialist constitution and legislation and they make efforts both to know their theoretical side and to determine the political and organizational measures needed for the correct monitoring and application of laws, combining convincing educational work with rigorous

administrative measures, together with advanced knowledge of the internal aspects of laws, in their relations with the working masses.

Police workers are characterized by faithfulness to the party line and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha. They continually render accounts to the elected organs of the government and before the masses of the people as a necessary condition for the preservation of the popular and class democratic character of the Police Force. This work is extended to the people's councils in all operations, where the police organs, in accordance with the lines, give regular information and reports, thus ensuring the assistance, direction and control of governmental organs. The rendering of accounts by police organs before the working masses helps them to be as close to the people as possible, in order to acquaint themselves with the difficulties, troubles and problems that the people have. The working masses are constantly activated in the service of the defense of order, aiding the police organs as organized forces (AGBV, [expansion not available] voluntary inspectors and firemen's groups) that have always stood side by side with the police and helped them.

In the execution of the resolution of the AWP central committee on the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the fatherland and the victory of the people's revolution, the working masses as well as the personnel of the People's Police and their assistant forces are struggling well to turn this jubilee year into a year of intensive work to achieve and overfulfill objectives, and to attain high results in ideological-political and professional military training. Guided by the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver, the police personnel live with the situations that are developed in the world and in the neighboring states and have followed and evaluated them with great vigilance. As a result, the work index regarding the prevention and discovery of enemy and criminal activity has grown and propaganda work has increased so that the working masses may become acquainted with the laws. Coordination of tasks between the mass organizations and the state organs has also been better organized.

Good measures have been taken to protect the socialist economy from fires by the application on a broader scale of specialized and operational controls in economic objects. The same is true with respect to traffic regulations, the reduction of accidents and the consequences that arise from them, the rational use of vehicles, savings in fuel, etc.

Important tasks have emerged for the police organs in honor of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the fatherland, with regard to keeping order and the peace, which our personnel, under the leadership of party organizations and strongly supported by the people, will accomplish with high vigilance and full success.

12249
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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

DIVORCE IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA--In 1983, the Czechoslovak judicial system handled more than 49,000 applications for divorce. Marriage was ultimately dissolved in about 36,000 cases. This included 26,400 families with children. In almost 23,000 cases, it was the wife who initiated the divorce proceedings. The largest group of divorced marriages included partners living together between 10-14 years. The divorce figure quoted for marriages which lasted up to 2 years was 2,800 a year. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Jul 84 p 2]

CSO: 2400/369

WESTERN COMMENTARY ON CHANGING ROLE OF GDR ELITE

Bonn DIE WELT in German 18 Jun 84 p 6

[Article by Wolfgang Seiffert]

[Text] The problem of the elite in the GDR is marked by the general contradictions in real socialism. On the one hand, the system, for its legitimation, invokes the ancestors of the socialist doctrine of salvation, Marx and Engels, whose utopia was an egalitarian society of equal men. On the other hand, in practice, it is typified by a differentiated performance society deliberately aimed at forming an elite, different incomes, and a differentiated system of rewards and privileges.

On the one hand, any elitist theory is simply maligned as "bourgeois theory," that would consider the people incapable of producing creative achievements of their own, as does, for instance, the "Kleine Politische Woerterbuch" [Small Political Dictionary] of the GDR, published in its third edition in East Berlin in 1978, p 197). On the other hand, they conceive of the party and state bureaucracy as a "strategic elite" indispensable for the system of "real socialism," without which the system could not exist but with which nearly everything can be "organized."

The background for this conception of an elite in the GDR is the SED's image of man and an understanding of democracy resulting from it that regards the majority of the population as unable to achieve the needed historic development processes. For that one needs a "vanguard," of the communist party, that is, which "theoretically ahead of the rest of the mass" supposedly has the insight into the conditions, course and results of development. This sense of identity, the principles and structure of the communist party, are gradually yet consistently transferred, after the seizure of political power, to the state, the economy and the entire society. And that is then run by an appropriate bureaucracy, the "strategic elite" or the "cadre."

Adieu to the Old Guard

"Cadre," as the SED understands the term, are "people bearing the responsibility for managing a collective," appointed for their functions in the party, state or economy on a part-time or full-time basis ("Kleines Politisches Woerterbuch," p 420). Such "cadre" also are those in the "new generation and working people

with college or technical school training who on account of their political and technical knowledge and skills are systematically being prepared for managerial functions" (Ibid.). It is understood that the political system of the GDR sets great store by the political and ideological tie of this elite to the communist party, chaining it to the party also materially and thereby deliberately seeking to develop an elite loyally dedicated to the system.

When the GDR was young, the members of this "nomenclature" of the GDR were recruited mainly from the old guard Weimar Republic communists, and then the emphasis was often placed on their "ideological reliability" in the sense of unconditional loyalty to the SED and unconditional discipline in terms of a political orientation to the Soviet Union (technical qualifications being ignored). When its construction of its own state in Germany continued, the forming of a technically highly qualified cadre became increasingly important, the SED leadership always seeking to combine the development of its own intelligentsia with its ideological orientation.

In implementing that objective the SED always followed dual tracks. For one thing, it developed a general educational system that included the general polytechnical secondary school, vocational and adult training, the colleges and technical schools, including the libraries and houses of culture. But then there also evolved a special educational system, serving the specific purposes of forming a political elite, differentiated along the lines of party, state, economy, army and police. The general educational system, to be sure, is programmed for an "education to socialism," for forming "socialist man." But only within certain limits does this system provide a promotion for special talent and for forming an elite, by setting up music schools, for instance, or language schools, or schools for mathematics and sports, which in their areas take charge of the especially gifted.

For the Gifted, Study Means Torment

Some selection comes also from delegating the more gifted among the pupils of the general polytechnical 10-grade secondary school to the expanded 12-year secondary school which ends with the Abitur (high school graduation plus). University studies do not often provide such forms of selection and talent promotion, except by very special scholarships and the so-called 3-year doctor's "Aspirantur." For the rest, there still applies today the remark made years ago by the GDR scholar Professor Kuczynski, that studying at GDR universities produced an "excellent average" but was torment for those of above average gifts. This also has mainly something to do with the "socialist obligation" the specially gifted in GDR universities assume to help the less talented doing well. Chances for independent studies by the gifted students are greatly curtailed, however, by administrative regulations.

The GDR's political leadership, in selecting its new generation elite, relies less on the general universities and more on special educational institutions in the various domains of the political structure. Or it has university graduates get some extra training in these special educational institutions before assigning them to the centers of the party, state and economic institutions. Here one may mainly refer to the SED party college in East Berlin; the Academy for Political Science and Jurisprudence in Potsdam-Babelsberg that "qualifies"

state functionaries and trains the GDR diplomats; the Dresden Military Academy; and some other GDR army and police officer colleges. And then some selected students and new blood are regularly dispatched for study to the universities and special educational institutions in the USSR.

A special role is played by the GDR Academy of Sciences. That is no training facility but a pure research institution, which however especially by that token makes up a special group of the science elite in the GDR. This way the SED leadership during the 35 years the GDR has been in existence undoubtedly managed to establish a numerous and technically highly qualified elite that is likely to become a factor of far-reaching importance in the conflict between the systems, inevitably ahead of us, over the political structures in a future re-united Germany.

That factor, to be sure, also contains explosive elements for the SED itself. What is becoming increasingly difficult above all is tying this elite ideologically up with the power interests of the SED Politburo, it being obvious, after all, that this elite can most easily come to understand that the GDR system has no prospects. On the other hand, it also conforms with the special interests of the elite, insofar as it has linked its personal prospects to the GDR system, to hold on to the socialist-communist goal for all of Germany and to seek ways to approach that goal still during our generation.

In addition there is, as a new problem, that the economic policy orientation of the SED leadership to scientific-technical progress (as the chief factor for growth and efficiency improvement) has raised new questions also with regard to forming an elite.

Putting Up With Social Distinctions

Theses have been advocated in the GDR for some time that far transcend the understanding and formation of elites thus far. Here one must mainly refer to its pushing the promotion of the gifted advocated for some time. One no longer simply wants to equate the college and technical school graduates with the "intelligentsia." Rather, one deliberately wants to emphasize the formation of a scientific elite, starting with the resolute promotion of talent and meant to go all the way to special income terms and individual life-styles. And here they frankly admit--which seems almost sensational--that such a development in "shaping particulars" comes at the expense of equal chances and is "bound to reproduce social inequalities" (cf. Hildegard Nickel, "Third Marxist-Leninist Sociology Congress in the GDR," WEIMARER BEITRAEGE, 1980, No 12, pp 14q-143).

Such reflections are undoubtedly still in their infancy in the GDR, compelled by the technical development in an economy that greatly depends on foreign trade. They are likely to be followed, though, despite the risks of such trends for the GDR regime. A debate on the forming of elites in the FRG can hardly avoid looking at developments in the other Germany because this process is occurring in one and the same nation.

Definition of Elite Theory, in "Kulturpolitisches Woerterbuch" [Cultural Policy Dictionary], East Berlin, 1978:

Conceptions in the pre-Marxist and, particularly, late bourgeois social doctrine and art theory, crediting only certain groups of persons or leadership strata with the ability to work creatively and absorb art with understanding.

The dialectic between mass and personality was despised, the class struggle was discredited as an anarchistic revolt, and the ruling bourgeois class and its representatives were declared the sole leaders of political, economic, scientific and cultural life. Thereby the elite theory supports the class cleavage in imperialism and the mental and moral suppression of the working people.

The elite theory also increasingly becomes a weapon by reactionary circles in their cold war against the socialist states, notably against their educational and cultural policies.

Socialist cultural policy in the GDR because of its successes has virtually ruled out the reactionary character of the elite theory. Rejecting elitist conceptions, however, is not tantamount to making everything even or to any indiscriminate evaluation of individual abilities and talents.

5885

CSO: 2300/555

SOCIAL, ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF BIOTECHNOLOGY DISCUSSED

East Berlin DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE in German Vol 32 No 5,
May 84 (signed to press 1 Mar 84) pp 447-456

[Article by Dr Karin Zaenker, of the philosophy and cultural science section
Dresden Technical University: "Biology, Technology, Humanist Responsibility"]

[Text] For some time the SED resolutions on economic and science strategy have increasingly encouraged technical utilization of biotic laws.¹ This relatively new state of affairs is closely tied to the present recognizable trend in the field of biotechnology.² For example, at the third symposium on biotechnology held by the socialist countries in 1983, progressive maturing of the application of biotic principles of action to process technology was acknowledged.³

There is much to be said for the view that within the next few decades biotechnical solutions will assume the function of a driving force and a key role in scientific-technical progress similar to microelectronics. The possible spectrum of application for these solutions even now comprise processes from disposal of waste products to data processing. Promising links of scientific-technical and social progress emerge with these lines of development. A step in the "development of nature for man"⁴ that can probably not yet be assessed is taking place in the form of biotechnology. The social relevance of the qualitatively new trend in the scientific-technical revolution stemming from biology was stressed by K. Hager when he stated that the "economic significance" of the biotechnologies "obviously is to be highly valued."⁵

It has always been the task of our philosophy to uncover the role of novel trends in technical progress for social progress in socialism and to study the ramifications that develop. The development of biotechnology, just as the development of every technology, is to be understood from the aspect of the goals and needs of society as well as of the social benefit.⁶ "Especially in this respect socialist humanism as goal function and assessment criterion is irreplaceable."⁷ Under this aspect as well as also regarding the relationship of man to living nature, more comprehensive philosophical attention is to be paid than heretofore to the interrelationship of biology and technology. With the increasing integration of the biotic field in technology, the latter also comes into a qualitatively new relationship to the life processes. In this connection, for example there presents itself the problem of the qualitative difference of life and nonlife and their merging as an aspect connected with technical mastery.

Of course, development of cognition and practical effectiveness of biology belong to the immanent subject of research of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. All analyses of the social functions of the sciences, especially the effects of their productive force, at all times also reflect the utilization of bioscientific findings in medicine, agriculture and forestry or environmental protection and in specific areas of technology. Since the decoding of the genetic code and the uncovering of possibilities for genetic manipulation, the human function of the biosciences shifted into the center of the philosophical discussions.⁸ Nature and meaning of genetically engineered and other interventions in life processes (including those of man) are made problematical, i.e. their control and design. The ideological connections are being developed more than ever from the aspect of the biosciences and of the application of their findings, whereby technology is included as a branch with growing importance.

In view of the initially sketched new importance of the biotic field to technology and the qualitative changes thus to be expected in the technical-technological content of the relations of man to nature as well as of the social relevance of these developments, in my opinion it is sensible to conduct the philosophical research on the relationship of biology and technology also to a greater extent from the aspect of technical progress, the technical sciences and the engineering activity and thus to consciously separate them from application of bioscientific findings. Such research has already been performed for technical developments in some branches. They include, e.g., the ideological problem of the potentials and limits of "artificial intelligence" in connection with automation of intellectual work processes of man or epistemologically interesting aspects of bionic action.⁹ However, overall the fact is being confronted that the question of what links technical development with the living nature is not being answered in a comprehensive manner with understanding for the fundamentals. This applies not only in philosophical respect but also in scientific-theoretical and technical-historical respect. The maturity now achieved in the interrelationship between the biotic and the technological fields makes such analyses possible and also indispensable.

In the following, thoughts are put up for discussion which are to serve the development of elements of the coordination of biology and technology of general-ideological and epistemological-methodological importance and which at the same time could be of heuristic value for the solution of problems of scientific-technical progress in our society connected therewith.

It is obviously necessary to define more precisely the empirical field toward which the ideological-theoretical analysis is to be directed. It is formed by that aspect of scientific-technical progress which is characterized by the application and utilization of biological processes or biotic active processes, which are changed by the scientific findings and serve technical purposes or industrial utilization. But it should be remembered that appropriate utilization of biotic principles of action belongs to the oldest achievements of mankind. However, apart from the somewhat more far-reaching efforts in some fields of bionics, only a few microbial processes have become technically-technologically important. Today all organizational levels of the biotic factor with their structural and functional peculiarities are increasingly included. The engineering disciplines developing therefrom are looking to living nature for

opportunities for a more effective technical mastery of material, energy, and informational processes. It is still relatively difficult to define such disciplines precisely. However, biotechnology, ecotechnology, and bionics are considered as relatively mature fields of work.¹⁰

The empirical field to be subjected to ideological-theoretical consideration is developing in an extremely dynamic manner. As a result, quantitatively and qualitatively new relations develop between the biotic and technical fields. This finding can be confirmed by a look at some historical and systematic connections, whereby for pragmatic reasons, references to the three abovementioned fields of work are established.

If one keeps track of the development of biotechnology, various stages can be differentiated.¹¹ At first, man, from an early stage of his development, made use of microorganisms for transformation of natural substances and production of foodstuffs without knowing anything about their existence. In these fermentation and preservation processes that are being continued to this day, the microorganisms remain in the end product. A new stage started at the end of the 19th century. Knowledge of microorganisms makes possible the specific production of biomass (feed yeast, lactic acid and the like). Industrial dimensions were achieved and new areas of application were developed (waste water purification). In the 1940's there was another turning point in connection with the microbial synthesis of penicillin. A start was made in mastering sterile fermentation on an industrial scale and success was achieved in culturing effective strains of microorganisms, which is characteristic for the production of antibiotics to the present. Since the sixties, the trend of biotechnology is toward broader material and energy industry use. Interlocking basic and applied research is being conducted, for example to produce products of metabolism, physiologically active materials, etc. by specific massive increase of cell and tissue cultures or by means of the production of isolated enzymes of microbial, vegetable or animal origin. The overall development in the field of biotechnology is increasingly influenced by genetic engineering methods. In this connection, two approaches are important. Either microorganisms are stimulated by means of outside genetic engineering information to produce for them completely atypical materials (mammal hormones, antibodies) or, by intervention into the genetic material, a higher degree of synthesis for certain homologous materials is achieved.

Biotechnological processes are also applied in energy production (e.g., by way of production of fermentation gas). In such processes, genetic engineering methods are also potentially usable. It reaches into the field of biocomputer science when biomolecules are studied for characteristics for information storage or processing. Here again the possibilities of genetic engineering "assembling" of such biomolecules is to be weighed. To that extent it is no longer speculation if in this connection there is talk about biochips or the integration of biomolecular phenomena in microelectronic structures. Thus new possibilities for mastery of information processes are emerging.

Complex mastery of material, energetic and informational processes are involved in ecotechnological solutions which concern the sensible management and preservation of natural ecosystems as well as also the design of the technological

processes under an ecological aspect. Both compel utilization of biotic factors to a greater extent and by different approaches. Environmentally heavily burdening waste products optionally can also be removed biotechnologically. Control principles of natural ecosystems are of interest as analog solutions to the establishment of technological correlations. Bionic procedure in general receives new importance in the technical application of biotic principles of action.¹² The procedure has experienced an internal change because it has received a theoretically considerably stronger foundation. Technically exploitable analog solutions are developed by use of the findings of biophysics, biomechanics, biostatistics, bio (neuro) cybernetics, especially by application of mathematical models. In this manner, structural and functional relations of organic systems of the most varied organizational levels are fully utilized. Transferable principles are then included among other things in the strategy for the solution of complex technical tasks. Thus, e.g., further progress is expected in robotics and medical technology as a result of the joining of mechatronics (as a unit of mechanics and electronics) and bionics.

The sketched breadth and dynamics in the technical application of biotics is--as already indicated--dependent above all on the achieved level of the cognitive development in the biosciences. This has progressed to the point that applications occur as they have been known in the past only from fundamental findings of physics or chemistry. There has been an unprecedented flow of bioscientific basic findings into technology and into other fields of application even though we are only at the beginning of the technical utilization of biotic principles of action. Cognitive and methodological development in the biosciences continues to advance. Biophysics and biochemistry continuously deepen our knowledge of the nature of the life processes. Mathematical, cybernetics, and system-theoretical procedures in the biosciences open up new possibilities of models of organism structures. Not least a deeper understanding takes place of biotic characteristics in such disciplines as genetics, ecology, or evolution biology. Perhaps genetics is the field that demonstrates especially vividly how results of bioscientific cognition (e.g., on gene structure and genetic recombination) may become a source of engineering science cognition and creation. Decisive are a large share of theory, opportunities for checking by experiments of hypotheses on the existence of set patterns of connections and possibilities for predicting results of specific interventions as well as correspondingly developed methodological instruments to influence the biotic structures. This unity of the development of cognition and development of cognitive and influencing methods is significant for the qualitatively new relationship of technology and living nature.¹³

Technical utilization of the biotic at the same time is also a problem of the maturity of the technical-scientific and engineering environment. On the one hand, cognition and methodological process in the biosciences are always a product of technical progress; this can be verified by the further development of the observation and experimentation technology. In doing so, attempts are made to fully utilize also the very latest technical possibilities. For example, a process has been developed by which genetic material can be introduced into cells computer-controlled by means of a laser beam. On the other hand, maturity of the technical-scientific environment means that education in the biotechnical disciplines itself must progress, which especially refers to the achievement of a specific theoretical level.

As regards theoretical generalizations, the biotechnical disciplines are still in their infancy. In biotechnology, for example, initial, naturally experience-oriented generalizations are available. Viewed historically, the necessity had developed to penetrate old technologies scientifically, namely when the latter were supposed to be used industrially on a large scale. First to be generalized was the empirical knowledge so-to-speak obtained by craftsmen. Further starts for the development of theories now lie in the application of general process-technology fundamentals and principles to optimize process course and conditions. As a result, especially economic efficiency is to be enhanced. It is essential in this connection that there are especially close interrelationships between basic and applied research. For in biotechnical processes, too, what is important is the achievement of higher characteristics of functional value, viewed from factors of higher upgrading of materials as regards applied raw materials, energy, certain aggregates and the like. Basic research provides the preliminary work for this purpose by means of findings on new laws, material properties and principles of action.

Furthermore, impetus for theoretical development extending beyond the biotechnical disciplines originates from the requirements to be placed on process control. Especially microbial processes in the traditional sense are not very stable, sensitive to changes in process volume. Setting up a computer model offers a way to attaining an optimal process course; the process model obtained can then be used for control. Test and control method problems of a special type also develop through the inclusion of microelectronic components in the system to be controlled. In this respect the technical exploitation of bioscientific findings very strongly stimulates the development of technical-scientific fields.

If in the past qualitatively new features in the relationship of the biotic field to the technical field and some of the factors constituting these new features have been stressed, then no least in order to make evident sources for economically important change in the technological development. The law characterizing the technological development of increasingly fully utilizing natural forms of movement of matter and its features in the case of developing biotic phenomena leads to predictably profound changes in technology and products. Fundamental bioscientific findings trigger the development of new branches of technology by forming the basis for completely novel products and processes or by helping create economically more effective processes. This also signifies: biological technologies side by side with mechanical or chemical technologies, are replacing them or are partially changing them.

Some trends of economically significant qualitative changes in the technical field are being stressed in the following; once again biotechnology is taken as the starting point. The changes are in at least four directions¹⁴; first of all, material transformation in which raw materials are refined in the traditional manner into foodstuffs and luxury foods, into feed (silages) or starting materials for textile production but also materials with harmful effects are degraded or converted into a usable form and components (metals) are produced from certain compounds; secondly, in the production of material by means of cell substance syntheses; in this case, the microorganism cells themselves form the product. In their totality they result in biomasses (feed yeast), more or less purified parts of which are, e.g., microbial protein and cell content substances;

thirdly, in the production of substances by means of product syntheses, whereby the microorganisms provide chemical compounds whose production by chemical syntheses is not or not yet possible or are economically ineffective. The syntheses refer to the system's own products (intermediate and end products of metabolism such as citric acid, and acetone or amino acids and antibiotics) and products from outside the system (genetic engineering processes for antigen and insulin production); fourthly, in the development of energy resources, whereby in addition to the already mentioned biogas production other biogenetically renewable or processable energy sources can be used. Viewed from an energy point of view, these processes supplement or expand the spectrum of possible forms of energy production.

The changes developing in the technical field thus lead by way of the mere controlling and imitating of processes of nature to economically and technologically effective development of biotic structures and functions. Genetic engineering methods open the way to artificial processes of evolution. "With biotechnology man changes from being an imitator of nature to the designer of biotic evolution within the framework of the laws of nature."¹⁵ Between the development of technology and the development of life, novel dialectical relations are emerging. Ideologically not unimportant is the fact that our traditional ideas of technology will have to be changed in view of the bioprocesses and biostructures which were brought into technical form, artificially shaped or created.

The directions of the biotechnological processes effective in the material and energy industry which are described here tend to lead to structural changes of large areas of industry. Those affected include foodstuffs and feed production, pharmaceutical and chemical production, environmental protection, water management as well as areas of metal production and dressing and areas of setting aside energy. In some areas economically farreaching changes are emerging which at the same time will be linked with profound changes in the work processes and way of life of man. This statement can be made based on the assessment of the developing trends of technical utilization of the biotic field even though their industrial dimensions are still insignificant. The situation here corresponds to that encountered by the situation with other innovations; initially microelectronics, too, found only hesitant acceptance. However, the more the application and utilization possibilities are discovered, the more rapidly the change occurs. Not least, as a result development and application times are shortened.

It is essential that the change introduced by the technical utilization of the biotic field has been, and/or can and will be important not only to individual economies but overall. Opportunities will be presented for the mastery of far-reaching contradictions in the development of modern productive factors as they result, among other things, from the resources situation and the growing energy and material demand. All efforts for their solution are to be regarded as a genuine advance in scientific-technical progress, as factors of intensification. Insofar biotechnological solutions are not an expedient in view of the raw material scarcity. K. Marx had such a context in mind when he wrote: "Of course the price increases of the raw materials constitutes the impetus.... Overall the conditions are...improvement of the machinery whereby the materials which are unusable in the form previously given to them are transformed into a form serviceable in the new production, especially of chemistry which...discovers the

useful properties."¹⁶ The fact that promising scientific-technical solutions are emerging for resources problems, for problems of environmental pollution, of nutrition, fighting against disease thus promotes the engineering utilization of bioscientific findings as part of the existing scientific, technical and economic conditions. Objectively the possibilities of a humanist effect of the technical sciences in the comprehensive utilization of which the socialist society has a special interest and for which it possesses the most mature conditions increase with the integration of the biotic field into technology.

With the emphasis of the interest of society on biotechnical solutions or its needs for such solutions, the circle of causes and driving forces of the dynamic developments in the allied field of biology-technology so-to-speak closes. Therefore it has proved to be necessary to regard the problem of mastery of scientific-technical progress in this field, which is incorporated in the historical-concrete decision-making context, in a more sophisticated manner. The cognitive mastery of this problem alone has interesting features.

Researchers and developers are faced with complex problem situations in the technical mastery of the biotic field. The contents of the problem situations are determined by natural-science-technical, technical-economic, ecological, human, etc. factors. These contents are to be grasped in this complexity, so that the variants of solutions corresponding to the strategy of scientific-technical progress in socialist society can be developed. In this connection, decision-making situations with ideological dimensions are faced for the mastery of which natural science-technological knowledge paired with economic index figures and specific experience in taking into account social, ecological or human requirements in the long run no longer suffice. In the cognitive basis for decisions, the share of theory in a manner really adequate for the dialectic of the facts to be mastered is to be increased, so that the probability of the occurrence of certain impacts and effects can be predicted with greater certainty. This makes sense not only economically but also helps overcome the tendency to regard mastery exclusively in the context of reacting to social, ecological, medical and other consequences or to consider the economic factors as being counteractive to the social or ecological factors. The very step that we are going to take with biotechnology toward man and the natural environment, will no longer be possible to achieve with empirical means at the vital interfaces. It is an essential task of our philosophy to provide ideological-theoretical advance work in this respect. This task must be performed responsibly so that simultaneously scientifically and technically pessimistic bourgeois concepts are answered and ideologically and socially practicable orientations are provided for decision-making situations.

Not only processes integrating extremely complex, hierarchically structured, physical and chemical movements are being used with biotic processes but at the same time processes are to be mastered which are in constant movement and change and which are of stochastic character in their course. In concrete cases of technical implementation, the possibility cannot be excluded that previously unrecognized undesired effects may occur.

Traditionally ideas on the technical event refer to the effect of dynamic laws. But already for some time modern technical developments which advance in

micro-phenomena or result in complex effects are being regarded as an aspect of the role and mastery of chance. Biotechnical processes offer a new field of research for that. Considerations of reliability, stability, and time behavior thereby must necessarily postulate chance determinedness as a factor that can be controlled. As a result, risk and consequences come to the fore. The given cognition and mastery problem however does not justify doubts in principle on the ability to master such technical solutions or even to reservations towards a full technical utilization of what is possible in nature at all.

For discussions with such conflicting attitudes toward scientific-technical progress, Marxist-Leninist philosophy has already created essential theoretical conditions by dealing with technology and the technical sciences. It is also important to fully utilize the scientific heritage which is available from the traditional pursuit of ideological aspects of the natural sciences for the solution of problems. For more and more ideological contents in the thinking of man connected with fundamental natural science discoveries constitute themselves on the question as to what is technically feasible and what is technically achieved. In this sense, among other things, the field of biotechnology would profit ^{from} the ideas Marxist philosophers and biologists have developed in recent years on the problem of genetic engineering.¹⁷ All this is to be included in the answer to the question on the meaning and the humanist mission of science and technology in the branch of scientific-technical progress under discussion here.

Thereby it is not to be regarded as a question of the ability to control complex, artificially created bioprocesses but as a question of the antihuman unscrupulous misuse of scientific findings in the antagonistic class society when thought has to be given to the dangers of a military use of biotic principles of action. In the ideological dispute we have to characterize all attempts to circumvent or ignore the ban on production and use of biological weapons in any way as a component of antihumanist, reactionary imperialist policy. Attempts at circumventing the biological weapons convention are involved for example in the effort to classify micotoxins (metabolic products of fungi) as chemicals or to exclude synthetically produced biogenetic toxins.¹⁸ Thus products for life are to be converted into an instrument for the destruction of life. To counteract these antihuman intentions, the Marxist-Leninist philosophy must develop and deepen the alliance with those bourgeois scientists and engineers who feel bound to humanism and who reveal the dangers growing out of an antihuman employment of bioscientific findings for mankind, an alliance with representatives of the bourgeois intelligentsia who at the same time do not recognize automatism of misuse but emphasize the responsibility of the scientists and see the social conditionality of the decisions on the use of scientific findings. Points of view of that kind¹⁹ moreover objectively counteract the irrational and pessimistic visions of the future disseminated by the reactionary bourgeois ideology. They reject hostility to science and technology.

All questions of development and application of cognition possess not only an historically concrete dimension and ideological relevance but at the same time are also questions of social and ideological assessment. The field of biotechnology is no exception to that.

Biotechnical solutions have to meet social requirements; they are assessed by criteria of technical progress. Of concern are economic efficiency, technical performance parameters, reliability and safety, environmental behavior, and other factors. In this respect, favorable and promising assessments emerge. Biotechnical solutions potentially are economically effective and optimally can be shaped to fit social and ecological requirements. From the aforementioned comes, among other things, the humanist mission to scientists and engineers in our society to make comprehensive use of the biotechnical possibilities. These possibilities are to be recognized as humanist alternatives to a multitude of technologies existing to this day which burden the environment and health of man. To rate them as such has nothing to do with a romantizing relationship to the living nature, but is the recognition of the fact that scientific means that are biotechnical in nature are part of the instruments for the solution of environmental problems. In this sense, biotechnical progress supplements progress in chemistry, which--according to Marx--also teaches to fling back "the excrements of the production and consumption process into the cycle of the reproduction process."²⁰ What is also not involved is "gentle technology" or similar ideas which want to make harmlessness to the environment the sole criterion for technical progress--thus ideas as they are attempted to counteract the destructive effects of technology coming from the capital utilization process in bourgeois society. Many such concepts create illusory hopes concerning the solution of social problems. Thus these concepts coincide with the socially "cloaked" intentions of big business to market their biological and genetic engineering products in underdeveloped countries, thus intending to make the economic dependence of the latter even greater.

Therefore it should be strongly emphasized that the high share which the biotechnical developments may have in the solution of worldwide problems refers only to their scientific-technical content. The ecological development of technical progress, too, will be largely economic-technological. Above all, it is linked to a certain maturity of socioeconomic conditions and in the long run is achievable only if--as Engels noted--"a complete revolution in our existing production method" will have taken place. In saying this, we do not postpone the overcoming of ecological problems to the distant future but integrate it in the historically concrete situation of the international class dispute.

But this also signifies: The historically-concrete connection in which the subject to be mastered stands to the development of society makes it a requirement to deepen not only an engineering approach more in a natural science direction but also to enrich the connection with differentiated insights gained from social science. Synthetic thinking is to be developed that makes it possible to integrate the scientific-technical tasks with appropriate depth into the network of social factors and to be able to solve them in this integration. In this connection, the biotechnical tasks per se have already maximum integrating character and can be solved only by interdisciplinary project-related coordination. Organizational structures of research and training strategies must satisfy these requirements. The necessary changes will not take place by themselves. Our philosophical work is to be directed toward overcoming ideological impediments of all kinds and to set free driving forces of such maturity so that, e.g., the task set for the next few years to strengthen the mathematical-nature science and economic basic education in the study of engineering²² can be

fulfilled with the desired social effects. With regard to the developmental prospects of biotechnology, this would mean to consistently see to it that a corresponding breakthrough is achieved in the bioscientific foundation of engineering training and the shaping of new disciplines.

Thus from a philosophical view the general problems of all engineering science activity for the field of biotechnology come to the fore: questions of social targets, assessment problems and questions of formation of criteria. The question is not whether biotechnical research is being conducted, but the extent to which effects and accompanying conditions of the results to be achieved correspond to the moral concepts of socialist society as regards scientific-technical progress. The latter are followed by current and strategic decisions regarding technical utilization of the biotic field. The moral concepts are socioeconomically determined and hierarchically structured. To consciously convert them into engineering activity is a process that takes place in a contradictory manner; for they offer only odds for decisions in risk situations. The concrete decision cannot be deduced from that. The problem consists in mastering the contradictory relations in the concrete process of the cognition, assessment and the determination of the decision so that what is adequate for the social goals of socialism prevails. Technical-economic gain in effectiveness in socialism is in the foreground as a decisive means of social progress. But this does not signify that insurmountable contrasts exist or are produced between the technically economically required and the advantageous and the humanly necessary or acceptable and desirable or between scientific-technical and ethical-moral targets. The trends of economizing and humanizing coincide in maturing socialism.

The complexity of the problems that becomes evident in the mastery of the biotic components in technical progress is more than an indication of the necessity, in connection with the development of the technical sciences, to further expand the moral judgment in Marxist philosophy as regards the unity of scientific-technical and social matters.²³

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. "Report of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany to the Tenth SED Congress." Rapporteur: E. Honecker, Berlin 1981, p 50.
2. Biotechnology in this context is taken to mean the entire field of the technical utilization and achievement of the biotic structures and functions.
3. Cf. "Biotechnology: "Successes, Constraints, Prospects," In: SPECTRUM No 8, 1983.
4. K. Marx: "Economic-philosophical Manuscripts From 1844." In: K. Marx/F. Engels: "Works, Supplementary Volume Part 1, Berlin 1968, p 546.

5. K. Hager: "Laws of our Epoch--Driving Forces and Values of Socialism," Berlin 1983, p 44.
6. Cf. L. Striebing: "Technology and Technical Sciences From a Philosophical, Sociological, and Historical Aspect--Current Problems." In: "From the Philosophical Life of the GDR." INFORMATIONEN BULLETIN, No. 3, 1983, p 29.
7. K. Hager: op. cit., p 44.
8. Cf., e.g., H. Hoerz: "Nature, Natural Sciences, Culture." In: DZfPh. (DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR PHILOSOPHIE), No. 7, 1983, p 789.
9. On the content of the discussion concerning these branches, cf. K. Zaenker: "The Principles of the Material Unity of the World, Its Inexhaustibility and Changeability--General Philosophical Foundations of the Technical Sciences." (Dissertation B), Dresden 1980, chapters 5 and 6.
10. Cf. M. Tesche: "Biology--Technology--Ecology." Lecture at the conference of the Scientific Council of Dresden Technical University on 10 May 1982 (manuscript print).
11. The definition of the stages is done according to: R. Grunow: What is Biotechnology, What Can it Do? In: WISSENSCHAFT UND FORTSCHRITT, No. 3, 1983, p 111.
12. Cf. K. Zaenker: "Analogies Between Living Nature and Technology as a Source of Cognition of the Technical Sciences." In: "Cognition Problems in the Technical Sciences. Materials of the Second Social Science 'Colloquium dresdense.'", Dresden 1980.
13. Cf. H. Hoerz/K.-F. Wessel: "The Dialogue Between Natural Scientists and Philosophers--A Constant Challenge." In: WISSENSCHAFTLICHE ZEITSCHRIFT DER HUMBOLDT-UNIVERSITÄT ZU BERLIN, "Mathematical-natural science series. No. 3, 1983, p 266.
14. The characterization of the directions takes place in accordance with: R. Grunow, op.cit. p 112 ff.
15. K. Hager, op. cit, p 44.
16. K. Marx: "Das Kapital." Third Volume. In: K. Marx/F. Engels: Works, Volume 25, Berlin 1965, p 111.
17. Cf., e.g., "Genetic Engineering and Man." Kuehlungsborn Colloquy 1979. Published by G. Tembrock, E. Geissler, and W. Scheler, Berlin 1981.

18. These examples are mentioned by E. Geissler. Cf. E. Geissler: "Genetic Technology for Biological Warfare? In: WISSENSCHAFT UND FORTSCHRITT, No. 9, 1983, p 347.
19. An example for that are the views of E. Kellenberger. Cf. E. Kellenberger: "Responsibility for the Coming Era of Biology." In: UNIVERSITAS, No. 12, 1983, p 1273 ff.
20. K. Marx: "Das Kapital," first volume. In: K. Marx/F. Engels: "Works," Vol 23, Berlin 1962, p 632.
21. F. Engels: "Dialectic of Nature." In: K. Marx/F. Engels: "Works." Vol 20, Berlin 1962, p 454.
22. Cf. in this connection: "Concept for the Development of the Education and Advanced Education of Engineers and Economists in the GDR." In: DAS HOCHSCHULWESEN, No. 9, 1983, p 252.
23. Cf. in this connection: L. Striebing, op. cit. p 28 ff.

12356

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ACTIVITY OF 'PUBLIC FORUMS' IN BELGRADE REVIEWED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1743, 27 May 84
pp 14-15

[Article by Teodor Andjelic: "Daytime Analyses of the 'Nighttime Semester'"]

[Text] "When learned theologians come to speak in youth forums, and learned Marxists do not, it is not the theologians who should be blamed."

Srecko Mihailovic quotes this sentence of Slavoljub Djukic (editor-in-chief of NIN 1980-1981) at the beginning of the last chapter of his study "Javne tribine u Beogradu" [Public Forums in Belgrade]. His study was published a few days ago by the Marxist Center of the Belgrade organization of the League of Communists, and thus its publication coincides with the new entanglements over certain public forums (the one in the Youth Center recently came under the receivership of Stari grad Opstina, and see the department "Periscope" for the forum of the Society of Croatian Sociologists, held on Saturday, 19 May, in Zagreb!).

The constant magnetism of the "nighttime semester"--a popular term for the forums--has for a long time now been shifted from the periphery and more toward the center of public attention. If we ignore the anecdotal or isolated events concerning the "little Athens"--as these forums were called in the press at the time of their greatest flowering: in 1970!--the main conclusion of Mihailovic's research might serve as a sufficient occasion for serious reflection about the "nighttime semesters": "Most of those attending thought that the forums did influence public opinion, that there does exist a 'fair amount' of freedom of speech in the forums, and that there are political provocations at them."

Pop Seriousness

Mihailovic's survey covers the lecture series of public forums in Belgrade between 1 January 1982 and 1 May 1983. On the basis of figures for the 18 most widely attended forums in those 17 months Mihailovic concludes that the people of Belgrade were most attracted by "current topics, topics on which people had long been silent, topics on which little was known; by experienced lecturers ('forum stars,' it might be said), but also by people with a scholarly reputation who rarely make appearances in forums. Those topics and

lecturers at those 18 forums attracted 10,000 people (an average of 556 people attending per forum)."

Most of the forum discussions--it might sound paradoxical, but it is so--are popular in character, although here and there they were markedly professional, judging at least by the professional periodicals which later published them. But what caused the greatest disputes is that a part of that professionalism was markedly ideological in nature. That sign was even placed before such happenings as the recent 7-day forum in Ljubljana on the topic "Homosexuality and Male Love," not to mention, say, the current series "My View of the Crises of Yugoslav Society," a forum organized by the Belgrade Student Cultural Center.

Mihailovic's survey recorded the content of 609 forums which were held. Culture and art were dominant (28 percent), and then sociology and politics (22 percent)--together they represented half of all the topics of public forums. Then came philosophy and religion (13 percent), psychology and pedagogy (10 percent), medicine (9 percent), the natural sciences (7 percent), and economics (4 percent).

Older people recall with nostalgia the golden era when half of Belgrade University went to hear "Uncle" Miso Djuric talk rapturously about Helen of Troy, and Milan Kasanin. Others mentioned Lukic's lectures in the Introduction to Law which the member of the academy delivered with a kind of popular lucidity. Milo Petrovic, who is in charge of the forum in the Student Cultural Center, feels that today the principal task of public forums is to pacify social conflicts: "That means to live within a dialogue. The forums are evidence that it is not baneful to respect the opinions of someone else. It is much more dangerous for one sole opinion and one body of knowledge to prevail."

Two Culminations

Srecko Mihailovic says that the public forums are treated as problems in two cases: either when they are barely getting along, when they are hardly noticed, when no one goes, or, in the other case, when they become the topic of the day, when they become more frequent, when there is not room for all the people interested in attending. It is obvious that for a long time now the forums have been at the top of the latter phase. There are even those who think that we are at the height of their ideological confusion "in which we are not dealing with autochthonous confusion of the forums themselves, but of a confusion which is an expression of ideological confusion in society," Mihailovic observes.

The survey revealed that the forums are attended most frequently by those who are effective in their social activism. It is an essential finding that in the composition of young people attending the forums 35 percent are members of the LC, 52 percent are not but would like to be, and 13 percent are neither members of the LC, nor do they wish to become members.

"Dissatisfaction is sometimes expressed with the forums attended by various people, and there are reflections about whether the forums are good. The

problem, however, does not lie with the forums as institutions--it is rather a matter of the absence of the members of the party from the forums. That is our problem, not the institutions as such," Dragoslav Markovic, chairman of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, said at the height of last year's debates concerning the forums.

Looked at in this way, the ideological issue of the tribune is clear and seems to be the key problem.

Boris Majer, member of the academy and member of the Presidium of the Slovenian Central Committee, put it this way: "Why is it that many members of the party are today silent in the forums? They are afraid risking their imagined and undeserved reputation in the organization, since in that kind of open confrontation it very quickly becomes evident who possesses adequate theoretical, political and historical knowledge and arguments, and who holds the positions of the League of Communists solely out of more or less feeling or indeed exclusively on the basis of conformity, and therefore that kind of knowledge has so far not seemed to him necessary, much less the effort of obtaining it."

Informally or With a "Fence"

Srecko Mihailovic says that it would be interesting to make a general reassessment of the attitude of the League of Communists toward dialogue: "Thus one would examine and analyze certain empirically striking points of that attitude: first, the call for dialogue, then the frequent display of theoretical helplessness in dialogues with non-Marxists and with Marxists holding different views from the official Marxists, and finally the occasional invocation of restrictive measures, usually as a consequence of previous helplessness."

The complexity of the questions put is obvious, and it is also evident that the range of possible answers is not limited solely to the forums. And the organizers of certain forums covered by Mihailovic's survey say that institutional social influence (council, board of editors) is not sufficient for the specific moves made by the organizers; that influence is displayed through adoption of the program guidelines and schedule, but that the consultation of certain figures is also indispensable. Thus the institutional influence is replaced by the informal influence, usually by that of "authorities in the party."

Dragan Glintic, who probably has more experience in organizing the forums than anyone else, having done this for 19 years (until last year) for the forum in the Youth Center, told us that a good forum must above all have its own ethic, spirit and methodology: "In the best period of our forum it was attended by 'all of Yugoslavia.' Today, now that we have so enriched our culture, the forums ought to be one of its constituent elements. To be sure, they are not a place for political rallies and pamphleteering, nor for maliciousness and dogmatism. However, it seems that even today there is an absence of a certain (political) 'sense' even for good public forums!"

Truly, if learned theologians appear in public forums, and learned Marxists do not, it is not the theologians who should be blamed for this.

[Box, pp 14-15]

LC, Mysticism, Rock ...

The principal data (sponsor of the forum, content, date when it was held, lecturer, number attending) concerning forums that had an audience of 400 people or more over the period from 1 January 1982 to May 1983 (the figures mainly pertain to Kolarec People's University [KNU]--except for academies and literary evenings--and the Belgrade Youth Center [DOB], while incomplete figures were obtained from the Student Cultural Center and the Student City Culture Center):

KNU 26 October 1982. "Tasks of the LC in Developing the Relations of Socialist Self-Management in Carrying Out the Long-Range Policy of Economic Stabilization." Speaker: Ivan Stambolic. Attendance: 880.

DOB 13 January 1983. "History, Philosophy, Mysticism." Speakers: Branko Bosnjak, Nikola Milosevic, Atanasije Jeftic and Marko Pogacnik. Attendance: 810.

DOB 1 February 1982. "Philosophy and Theological Thought." Speakers: Vladimir Permec, Ivan Urbancic, Branko Pavlovic and Antonije Isakovic. Attendance: 700.

DOB 7 April 1982. "Antonije Isakovic: Tren 2 [Moment 2]." Speakers: Nikola Milosevic, Sveta Lukic, Ljubisa Jeremic and Antonije Isakovic. Attendance: 680.

DOB 19 May 1983. "Eros and Logos." Speakers: Rada Ivakovic, Slavenka Drakulic-Ilic, Zarana Papic, Nenad Miscevic, Atanasije Jeftic and Milko Valent. Attendance: 650.

KNU 16 November 1982. "Socioeconomic Status of Education." Speaker: Milan Dragovic. Attendance: 610.

DOB 10 March 1982. "Rock Poetry of Bora Djordjevic." Speakers: Aleksandar Popovic, Ljuba Stojic, Bratislav Milanovic, Vuk Zugic, Aleksandar Brkic and Bora Djordjevic. Attendance: 600.

DOB 18 May 1983: "Hedonism and Revolution." Speakers: Rastko Mocnik, Bozo Kovacevic and Milko Valent. Attendance: 550.

KNU 14 December 1982: "Further Transformation of Upbringing and Education in Carrying Out the Conclusions of the 12th LCY Congress and the 11th Congress of the Serbian LC." Speaker: Milomir Petrovic. Attendance: 520.

DOB 15 May 1983. "Miladin Zivotic: Revolution and Culture." Speakers: Veljko Korac, Predrag Vranicki, Predrag Matvejevic and Miladin Zivotic. Attendance: 500.

DOB 6 January 1983. "Comparative Analysis of Mysticism." Speakers: Eugen Verber, Mirko Gaspari, Djuro Susnjic and Darko Tanaskovic. Attendance: 500.

DOB 22 March 1982. "J. V. Stalin: Questions of Leninism." Speakers: Lino Veljak, Andrija Kresic, Nikola Milosevic and Rastko Mocnik. Attendance: 480.

DOB 12 October 1982. "Boro Krivokapic: I Ask Krleza." Speakers: Nikola Milosevic, Esad Cemic, Dimitrije Rupel, Igor Mandic, Dobroslav Smiljanic and Boro Krivokapic. Attendance: 450.

DOB 6 April 1983. "Predrag Matvejevic: Yugoslavism Today." Speakers: Taras Kermauner, Janko Prunk, Zarko Puhovski, Milan Djurcinov, Juraj Martinovic, Predrag Palavestra and Milorad Vucelic. Attendance: 450.

DOB 14 April 1982. "Stanko Lasic: Krleza—Chronology of His Life and Work." Speakers: Nikola Milosevic, Vasilije Kalezic, Ivan Salecic and Velimir Viskovic. Attendance: 420.

KNU 24 February 1982. "Autogenous Conditioning." Speaker: Vladimir Vilhar. Attendance: 413.

DOB 31 March 1983. "Traditional Chinese Marshal Arts." Speakers: Aleksandar Tomasevic, Zoran Djordjevic and Zoran Kovacevic. Attendance: 400.

DOB 17 May 1983. "Love and Deviant Forms of Love." Speakers: Katalin Ladik, Milan Komnenic, Nenad Miscevic and Milko Valent. Attendance: 400.

7045

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STUDY INDICATES PROBLEMS IN ETHNIC, SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF LC

Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian 8 Jun 84 pp 36-39

[Article by Rasko Kovacevic: "Who Does the Worker Party Belong to?"]

[Text] The results of certain Yugoslav research on membership in the League of Communists, among them the results of research done by a team of sociologists from Split (a separate book) entitled "Struktura i dinamika clanstva Saveza komunista" [Composition and Pattern of Change of the Membership of the League of Communists], will be published by the "Komunist" Publishing House.

The research done by the Split team, which is affiliated with the Marxist Center of the Croatian LC Central Committee, includes eight studies covering the period from 1968 to 1981 and embraces facts on all significant segments of the membership of the LC ("Turnover of the LCY Membership," "Demographic and Social Characteristics of LC Membership," "The LC in Physical Production," "The LC in the Social Services," "Youth in the LC," ...), and cost 850,000 dinars.

We spoke with Professor Boris Vuskovic, leader of the research project and instructor of sociology at the School of Economics at Split University. We tried to guide the conversation in two essential directions: toward the specific results of the research and toward the broader social and political significance of those results.

Methodological Innovations

Professor Vuskovic has the impression that what has so far been known about the ethnic structure of the membership has created certain complexes because of differences between the proportion of various ethnic groups in membership of the LC and their share in the composition of the Yugoslav population.

It was noted that previous research into the ethnic composition of the membership of the LC involved an important methodological error: the share of ethnic groups in membership of the LC was always compared to the total share of that group in the Yugoslav population. This was to forget that the party population is made up of persons over the age of 17, and that therefore party membership should not be compared with the total population, but exclusively with the population over that age. This seemingly insignificant methodological innovation yields, however, a quite different picture of the otherwise

delicate question of the participation of ethnic groups in membership of the LC.

Why is that picture altogether different?

"Because there are marked differences in age-specific composition of the various ethnic groups," Professor Vuskovic said. "Thus, for example, half of the Albanians and Turks are under age 18, while that same age group represents only one-fourth of the population of Croats, Slovenes and Serbs! So the differences are immense. Which is precisely why we cannot compare the party population to the total population, but only to the adult population, that population in the ages suitable for the party. This approach casts a new light on this relationship, since it is obviously a mistake to compare the proportion of Albanians in the membership of the LCY (80,070 members in 1981) with the total Albanian population, but the comparison should be made only with the adult population, which is half as large (about 850,000). There is no doubt by honoring age differences in the ethnic group we have obtained an accurate, but also considerably different, picture than the usual one, which has often been used in manipulation."

The subject of our interview mentioned that on the other hand a more accurate insight was also obtained into the social composition of the membership of the LCY. That is, up to now the approximately 80,000 members of the LCY in the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] were not differentiated with respect to social and occupational characteristics. Their social and occupational classification has given a complete insight into that composition of the membership, and among other things this has led to an absolute and relative increase in the share of trained specialists in the membership of the LCY.

Later on we will return to the questions of the social composition of the party membership. For the present we will dwell on the following datum: over the last 10 years or so the number of members of the LCY has doubled. However, there are rather large differences in the growth of the membership of the organizations of the LC from one republic or province to another. For example: the membership of the Bosnia-Herzegovina LC almost tripled over the period 1971-1981, while the membership of the Croatian LC increased by only half over that period. Somewhat smaller differences, but not less significant, have also occurred in the growth of the membership of other organizations of the LC.

Muslim Boom

We asked Professor Vuskovic for an explanation:

"Of course, with empirical data such as we possess you cannot find any sort of explanation; this is obviously a very complicated matter, and it is a research undertaking to obtain an exact answer. But since that research does not exist for the present, we can allow ourselves to enter into only more or less well-founded hypothetical considerations.

"If we throw out ridiculous hypotheses like those concerning the more rapid development of social consciousness in one republic as compared to another republic, then it seems to me advisable to point out among a number of other possible circumstances the following feature of the sudden growth of the membership in Bosnia-Herzegovina: I assume that one of the important roles was played by a specific fact--the Muslims, who are predominantly located in Bosnia-Herzegovina, represent the youngest ethnic group in our country, a group which has had a specific road in reaching its national identity. Within it, since it is a young nation, there has certainly been a greater thrust for social affirmation than is the case with the other long-established nationalities, and there is no doubt that the League of Communists is one of the important promoters of social affirmation. There is evidence that this circumstance has played an important role in the fact that the growth of Muslims in the ethnic composition of the total population of the LCY has distinguished itself as the largest.

"Of course," Vuskovic continued, "if that circumstance is significant, and there are certain indications to that effect, then it can be differently evaluated, but it cannot be neglected as a social fact. Nevertheless, in the possible evaluation of that fact we dare not lose sight of the following: in spite of the enormous growth, Muslims are only now achieving an appropriate proportion in the ethnic composition of the LCY membership, that is, the share which they have in the membership of the LCY corresponds to the share which they have in the composition of the adult population of the SFRY."

By contrast with the Muslims, other more numerous ethnic groups are represented rather unevenly in the membership of the League of Communists, which certainly represents a politically sensitive fact. This survey thus showed that more than one out of every four Montenegrins is a member of the party (see the table) [table not included in the original], and then nearly one out of every six Serbs, one out of every six or seven "ethnically uncommitted," i.e., Yugoslavs, and the same is the case with Macedonians, and then every seventh or eighth Muslim, every 10th or 11th Croat, every 11th Albanian and Slovene, and finally, somewhat less than every 12th Hungarian.

There is no dilemma: between these nine most numerous groups in the composition of the Yugoslav population there are rather large differences in their representation in membership of the LCY. Montenegrins, for instance, are between threefold and fourfold more highly represented in membership of the LCY than Hungarians. However, it is worth mentioning that back some 10 years ago the differences were far greater, so that it can be said that the ethnic composition of the membership of the League of Communists has been showing a tendency toward a leveling out of the differences. The situation in the membership of the LCY is a result of adding up the situations in the membership of the republic and provincial organizations.

It would be interesting to examine differences in the ethnic composition of the membership of the LC which we encounter in the organizations of the republics and provinces. Globally, two types of situation can be indicated: the first, and more frequent, is that the most numerous ethnic group in the population of the republic or province has a relatively lower proportion in

the membership of the LC than the other ethnic groups. This applies, for instance, to the Slovenian LC, in which the Slovenes have a relatively lower proportion than Serbs, Croats, Muslims and "ethnically uncommitted," i.e., Yugoslavs. The same is the situation in the Croatian LC, in which Croats are in relative terms less well represented than Serbs, Muslims, and so on. In the Serbian LC Serbs are relatively less well represented than, say, Bulgarians, and in the Kosovo LC, Albanians are less well represented than Serbs and Montenegrins....

The other type of situation prevails in the Montenegrin and Macedonian LC's, since Montenegrins and Macedonians are better represented in the membership of the LC than the other ethnic groups.

We asked Professor Vuskovic how he explains the sociopolitical phenomena in the composition of the membership of the League of Communists, which are certainly important. The authors of the research, he said, posed an entire set of hypotheses which they then attempted to verify. He then emphasized the decisive hypothesis: the ethnic composition of the LCY membership is largely shaped indirectly. That is, enrollment in membership in the LC is by and large not based on ethnic origin, but is influenced by other features, so that the ethnic composition of the membership is largely derived and dependent upon other factors. The significance of other factors is strongly manifested in the social and occupational composition of the membership of the LC. Thus farmers or unskilled workers have a minimal share in the membership, and there are an exceptionally large number of engineers and technicians. In this context the authors of that study attempted in spite of the defectiveness of the data to establish differences in the social, occupational and skill-specific composition of the various ethnic groups, and their importance to the ethnic composition of the membership of the League of Communists. They obtained certain data by no means very well known to the broad public that refute many ingrained prejudices. Thus the "ethnically uncommitted," i.e., Yugoslavs, and Montenegrins distinguished themselves as the best-educated group, which also undoubtedly played a certain role in their high representation in membership of the LC.

There are also other factors which could play a certain role in forming the ethnic composition of the membership of the LC. Vuskovic thinks that one should absolutely not underestimate the spread of religion (half of the Yugoslav population is religious), since one cannot be religious and also be a member of the LC. That is, even the very first population census, in 1953, showed a widely varying level of religious allegiance in the various social territories within our country: atheism in SR [Socialist Republic] Montenegro was several times higher than in SR Croatia and SR Slovenia, and those relationships from long ago, Vuskovic thinks, have not been essentially disrupted even today, and this obviously influences the global relationship between the population and the size of the membership of the LC as well as its ethnic composition.

"More recent research among young people in secondary school and the university, including two recent surveys which we made in Dalmatia, indicate a high influence of this factor. That is, when we asked nonmembers whether they

wished to become members of the LC, a huge proportion of those who answered in the negative gave as the reason for their position that the view of the world of the League of Communists was contrary to their religious conviction," Professor Vuskovic said.

Among the large number of factors influencing the shaping of the composition of the membership of the LC, there is one more worth mentioning, especially since many surveys have established it: this is the "family legacy." That is, it has turned out that if one of the parents is a member of the LC, then there is a high probability that the children will also become members, which need not be any compliment, but it undoubtedly influences the retention and renewal of certain structural features of the membership.

The Aggrieved and the Consolers

The differences mentioned in the representation of certain social strata in membership of the LC, which has also influenced its ethnic composition, are significant ones. We were interested in certain basic features of the social composition of the membership of the LCY and in whether any very significant changes had taken place in this area.

The subject of our interview said that over the last 10 years or so, a time in which the membership has doubled, tendencies which are socially very interesting have become clearly evident in the social composition of the party membership. The decline or stagnation of workers and the strong growth of trained specialists and young people in school are usually cited as an essential feature of that shift. This is quite accurate. But that observation can at the same time raise or indeed conceal the true question....

"You see, the problems represented by these trends in the social composition of the LC membership are usually posed at a superficial level, so that some people are aggrieved by the fact that we do not have a worker majority in the party, while the consolers reply that workers are nevertheless the most numerous social group in the LC. That approach, which is to some extent formalistic, has given rise to a certain practice in the enrollment of members, a practice that is often contradictory, just as some research and reflections about the party are concentrated on the fact that workers have a relatively higher share among expulsions than other social groups. However, I have the impression that by adopting this approach we have nevertheless missed the point."

What is this contradictory practice in the enrollment of members?

Professor Vuskovic observes: in spite of the party's effort to achieve a worker majority, which is usually manifested in the favorable proportion of workers among newly enrolled members, the proportion of workers is nevertheless staying the same in the total composition of the membership. There are at least two reasons, he says, which favor this:

"On the one hand, there is a clear effort of the party to enroll young people and women in its ranks--they are less well represented, since they constitute

only one-fourth of the membership of the LC, although they comprise half of the total population. However, such desires contradict to some extent the effort to achieve a worker majority! Why? Simply because employed women are predominantly office workers and trained specialists with respect to their social and occupational features; only a fifth of employed women are workers. That fact, along with certain others, accounts for the fact that the fast growth of women members does not help to shape the worker majority. Much the same is true of young people."

Certainly every organization which is thinking of the future must rejuvenate itself. But since a huge portion of the young generation is attending school, and in that group young people in worker schools represent a very small share, it is quite logical that enrollment of young people attending school cannot result in the worker majority. We should not forget in this connection that over the last 10 years or so young people have comprised more than three-fourths of newly enrolled members.

"On the other hand," Vuskovic stresses, "those workers who are enrolled or who are already in the party are to a considerable extent undergoing attrition because of social and occupational mobility, that is, through retraining, and this is significant within all the groups, especially among the workers. In the overall context of social and occupational mobility, there are few members of other groups becoming workers, such as farmers or housewives, while a considerably larger number of workers moves into other groups. This circumstance contributes essentially to the reduction or stagnation of the proportion of workers in the social composition of the membership of the LC in spite of the relatively favorable composition of newly enrolled members."

Many researchers cite the very high share of workers in expelled members of the LC. To what extent does this circumstance influence the changing proportion of workers in the social composition of the membership of the LC?

"It is true that workers have a higher share among expelled members than their share in the social composition of the LC. However, it is precisely from the standpoint of the proportion of workers in the social composition of the party that I consider this fact to be inessential; since the entire number of expelled members is numerically negligible. For instance, in 1980 those who were expelled represented only 0.18 percent of the total membership, and in that context it is not essential whether there was one or more workers per 1,000 among the members expelled."

"I Have Lost the Party--I Am Seeking Revenge"

It seems quite natural to Vuskovic for the party to try to achieve a worker majority (workers represent about 30 percent of the membership), "since no one will be able to represent the interest of the workers better than the workers themselves." But in spite of that he feels that the question of the worker majority is not the decisive question in the party's life and work, so that in part it is also emotionally colored. He then says that it is well known that there are parties in the world which have a higher percentage of

workers than ours, but they are still not the worker parties that the LCY is. Which is why it seems to him that the far more essential question is whether the workers who are in the party, regardless of whether they represent a third or a majority, actually participate in decisionmaking, that is, does the party behave in a class way and does it defend the interests of the workers?

"It seems to me advisable to turn attention not only to our programmatic positions and the standard elaboration of social practice, but also to how the various social groups perceive the party, which incidentally is manifested in their degree of desire to join it, that is, in the degree of coincidence between their interests and the activity of the party."

The question truly imposes itself, what can one conclude about the interests of various social groups and their representation in the League of Communists?

The subject of our interview believes that in this complicated area both the social composition of the membership of the LC itself and also tendencies in its change may be indicative. In this sense the stagnation of worker representation in the membership of the LC is a kind of worker criticism of the League of Communists itself.

Examination of the share of the various groups in the social composition of the membership does not give us, Vuskovic thinks, the entire picture of the situation. The picture of the relative proportion of LC members in the entire social group, which many researchers ignore, seems to him still more significant. On the basis of the composition of the employed labor force and certain additional sources (the results of the 1981 Population Census have not been released) one can conclude that the party membership has by far the lowest share among farmers (2-3 percent, or one out of every 40 or 50), and then among industrial workers (about 8 percent, which is to say that only one out of every 12 or 13 is a member of the LC), and then retired people (11 percent), high school students who have reached adult age (12 percent), workers as a whole--13 percent, and within that group 16 percent of workers in the service activities, one-fourth of all office workers, a third of all fulltime students, half of the trained specialists, and nearly 80 percent of management personnel and officeholders.

If we agree (easily) that this picture is no accident, then it raises several questions. First of all, one must put the question of why the League of Communists is so little rooted in the workers in general, and especially in the industrial workers, (since in relative terms there are fewer of them in the party than retired people)! And then, why is it that there are in relative terms twice as many office workers in the party as workers, even fourfold as many trained specialists, not to mention management personnel.... Professor Vuskovic says:

"... Honoring Marx's fundamental theses, but even without them, it makes sense to assume that those social strata which are best represented on the whole realize more easily their social aspirations through membership in the LC than is the case with the workers. This is reinforced by the fact that at

the bottom of the ladder of coverage there are in addition to the workers only those social groups which have been essentially restricted in their social promotion (private farmers, secondary school students and retired people).

A similar thought is suggested by the noticeable differences in the proportion of members of the LC in various groups of trained specialists. That is, members of the LC are most highly represented among engineers and technicians and economists--and then somewhere between two-thirds and three-fourths of all the lawyers (!), and then half of the teachers (they are very "widespread" among officeholders), but only one-eighth of the physicians, who probably manage to satisfy their aspirations by means of their special status even without necessary help from belonging to an organization of the LC.

This kind of social composition of the League of Communists reinforces still more impressively its technobureaucratic features when we look at the distribution of employed members of the LC by types and branches of activity. It is very symptomatic that members of the LC employed in noneconomic activities are twice as numerous in relative terms than those employed in the economy. To make the matter still more obvious, I would emphasize just this one more thing: in relative terms the highest proportion of members of the LC is in the banking field, and then in government and public agencies and services, and in relative terms even between threefold and fourfold higher than in physical production. That is enough, isn't it?

Nevertheless, don't these facts contain one of the causes of the gap between the declarations of the party and its social action (the so-called gap between words and deeds)?

Certainly, says Vuskovic. That gap between the programmatic and empirical identity of the League of Communists has to a considerable extent brought about a paralysis of social actions and a gap between the unity in events like congresses and conferences and the actual domination of group, local and other partial interests, which accounts for the constant emphasis on democratic centralism as an instrument for carrying out the unified policy. Appeals cannot, of course, overcome the interests, and the result is the endless effort to agree and the minimum agreement achieved.

"The basic party organization is an ever smaller part of the LCY, as a Yugoslav entity, and more and more the trademark of defense of the narrow interests of one's own work organization or regional community," the subject of our interview said. "Which is why opportunism prevails in it, and there is not a trace of political differentiation. Just imagine that only 0.18 percent of the members are expelled every year, and only one out of every 10,000 members are expelled for violating self-management standards of behavior. We are a country, then, in which self-management is so sovereign that only a truly rare individual sins against it! Judging by social actuality, that is not comical, but cynical. It is precisely this which destroys confidence in society, which alienates us and privatizes us. We shut ourselves up in our own shops, we struggle with problems of everyday existence as an altogether private sphere, and we attempt to solve those problems through connections

and people we know, all the way from finding a job to obtaining housing, health care and the like.

"It is not a simple matter at all to overcome this situation, and there are no longer the magic wands there once were. With respect to the League of Communists and the composition of its membership, then the question must be put: Does the present social composition of the membership of the LC, including its occupational distribution, represent that historic coalition which optimally could carry forth and develop the social revolution?"

The subject of our interview thinks that the answer to that question depends on a more global reflection concerning revolution and present-day reality. That is, both within the LC and outside it there are quite a few technocratic conceptions which implicitly hold that the workers have played out their historic role, so that the question of their presence in the LC is more a concession to some Promethean past than a pledge to the future....

The Workers as a Sentiment

"Yes, in that sense the workers do represent more a sentiment than the protagonists of a revolution, which is shifting in the direction of technicians with various backgrounds. And thus the gap is created and deepened between the working class proclamations and social reality. Remember the public pomp with which the worker activists were created in party forums and how they faded away along with everything else, look how the social composition of the membership of party and government forums, from the opstina to the Federation, has changed over the last 20 years," Professor Vuskovic said. And he went on:

"Of course, the displacement of the workers has resulted in a rise of their feeling of alienation. I would recall in this connection that I was taken aback by the results of our recent survey of high school students in Split; I pulled out separately the results of that portion of that group in training for worker occupations. That is, these are the future workers, young people whose parents were workers almost 100 percent and who belonged to the postwar generation.

"Believe it or not, more than half of them are religious, almost 100 percent of them say that they are not interested in politics, and 90 percent either did not show interest in enrolling in the LC, or they even explicitly rejected it! I remembered at the time Pope Pius having said at one time that the greatest scandal of the century for the Catholic Church was that it had lost influence on the workers. I am not certain when it comes to the young workers that we will not be using a similar phrase before long!

"So, the party's ties with the workers need to be renewed first of all. We certainly will not renew those ties through mere verbalism, but only through real changes in the economic and political sphere, beginning with the workers' real control of income, and going all the way to important changes in the area of party life and work. But all of this is a mere illusion unless we analyze the party itself as a problem!"

What does Vuskovic mean by analyzing the party itself as a problem?

If the League of Communists is our country's leading political force, which it undoubtedly is, the subject of our interview said, then it is natural that the League of Communists deserves high credit for all the results in this country, but at the same time it is also responsible for the important failures. Everyone gladly accepts the first part of this proposition, Vuskovic thinks, but the second arouses suspicion. This suspicion and irritation arise in part from the fact that the party is already being analyzed as a problem, but this is being done by the anticommunist forces; this is an analysis which treats the party as something outdated, superfluous, opening up the doors to a social cataclysm....

"Let us not harbor any illusions," he says, "that aggressive anticommunism is quite widespread and is to be found in many pores of social life. This develops mechanisms of a defensive type in the party, mechanisms which will not be helpful to us in overcoming the social crisis. I therefore think that we communists must initiate and develop another approach to analysis of the party as a problem, that creative approach which does not ask whether we need the party, but what kind of party we need?

"Aside from strengthening the ties with the workers, there is no question that we need a party with highly developed internal critical and self-critical activity, which does not exist now nearly as much as it should. I have the impression that there is less of a democratic thrust in the party than in other segments of social life."

And at the end of the conversation Boris Vuskovic asked us to quote him verbatim:

"It is illustrative of our social and party climate that many well-meaning colleagues, when they heard about some interview, suggested to me that I refuse it, since the time is not 'right' for public discussion! That is, there has been formed a definite team of 'on-duty' and 'right-thinking' Marxists and patriots who deliver slaps to everyone else to bring them back on the right road, and at the same time they do not live badly from that dirty work of theirs, and they probably would not live badly in any other possible regime either. My position is that it is a greater sin today to keep silent than to get involved in public disputation, even at the price of not being right. Forgive me, I have no other country except this one in which I grew up, and I am not a member of any other party except this one. Is it unnatural, then, that I should look to them and find the largest room for freedom?!"

7045

CSO: 2800/383

CRITIC OF CRIMINAL CODE ARTICLE 133 ACCUSES GORAN BABIC

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jun 84 p 44

[Article by Pero Pletikosa: "A Feeble Word"]

[Text] Since so far there has not been any significant reaction to the statement by Dr Djordjije Marjanovic, who last November at a conference of the Yugoslav Association for Criminal Law and Criminology proposed abolishing Article 133 of the SFRY Criminal Code, Marjanovic himself, certainly with the help of a segment of the press, has tried to heat up that thesis of his. Although that conference was held in Struga more than half a year ago, the proposal of the professor of the School of Law of Skopje University was recorded by the press at the time, which also wrote about the objections which immediately ensued in the debate that followed his statement. DANAS reported on that on 8 November 1983. It was clear even at the time that that proposal belongs among all those "proposals," petitions and the like which attempt to suggest that our legal system, criminal legislation and penal policy are not only not in conformity with the achievements of socialism, but in fact have lagged behind bourgeois society. That those who opposed Marjanovic were not mistaken in this has in fact been demonstrated by the fact that the Chetnik NASA REC has also agreed with him; in its No 350, under the title "An Exceptional Event--In Favor of a Policy of Democratic Reform," it fully supported it and referred to those who did not agree with him as the "representative of the regime on duty" and "the surviving Yugoslav Vishinsky." That kind of support certainly does Marjanovic no credit.

But let us assume that that was an end of it. But that is not the case. Marjanovic has seen to it that "the matter does not stop there," and he has published a letter in REPORTER which was immediately, without delay and promptly carried by NIN (No 1742, 20 May) in which the worthy professor, neither more nor less than (I quote NIN) "asserts that the writer Goran Babic committed the crime of hostile propaganda in that debate!" That is, Marjanovic literally writes that Babic "more than obviously, maliciously and untruthfully portrayed socioeconomic conditions in the country and committed the crime of hostile propaganda under Article 133, Paragraph 1, of the SFRY Criminal Code."

That ended the first act of this farce in the best tradition of commedia dell'arte: Marjanovic first called for abolishing Article 133 of the Criminal

Code, and then he called for that same article to be invoked against a writer and member of the Presidium of the Croatian Republic Conference of the SAWP, that is, an officeholder. The curtain fell at the moment when NIN carried the reader's letter from REPORTER, since that is what Marjanovic's article in REPORTER was.

The curtain rose for the second act on Friday, when NIN published--among readers' letters--a letter by Djordjije Marjanovic in which he says: "Certain zealous readers have already contacted me personally to point out a 'contradiction': in a letter published in NIN, No 1741, I say that I am opposed to the crime of hostile propaganda, while in a letter which you, together with the comment of the editors, reprinted in the department 'Periscope,' I accused Goran Babic, a Zagreb writer, of that same crime.... My main goal was and remains--Marjanovic went on to say--to convince the legislator that the crime of hostile propaganda under Article 133, Paragraph 1, of the SFRY Criminal Code, in the form of malicious and untruthful portrayal of the sociopolitical conditions in the country, which was introduced in our criminal legislation in 1959 and was energetically substantiated by Svetislav Stefanovic Ceca, at that time the state secretary for internal affairs, on the basis of the need 'to achieve greater monolithism,' intensified vigilance of our authorities and still broader development of a corrective influence on vacillating citizens, and finally by the need for harsh punitive measures against 'heedless individuals, enemies of our country and our government' (those are all his words taken from the speech published in the journal NARODNA MILICIJA, No 8, 1959)--is a very unfortunately and very vaguely composed provision."

Of course, Marjanovic has the right to think what he pleases about Goran Babic and about his polemical article entitled "A Feeling for Storms," but he has no right whatsoever to confuse this with my attempt to settle accounts with the SFRY Criminal Code. Incidentally, it would be far more scientific to back up his argument with the discussions that occurred at the time when the 1959 Criminal Code was enacted and the subsequent discussions, but not to get into quoting the publication NARODNA MILICIJA. In the Assembly and its committee this topic has undoubtedly been much debated, and one quotation from the state secretary at that time, regardless of his political fate, cannot jeopardize an article in a law in such a superficial way.

So, caught in a contradiction, in the second act of the farce Marjanovic "was on his feet" and justified the discrepancy: he had not forgotten his demand for amendment of the Criminal Code, it was just that his appeal to it was supposed to prove how absurd that article of the law was. This is the well-known method of justifying anything, of today advocating one thing, and tomorrow another that is quite the opposite. A man wonders when he is actually to be believed. Probably every time, since every time he is expressing what he thinks. But there is another feature for which this act will enter into the annals of our press: first NIN carried the letter from REPORTER, and then the author of that letter wrote a letter to NIN, since "certain zealous readers" had "personally" called his attention to it, and so on.

It is difficult at the moment to forecast whether there will also be a third act. In any case this is an instructive story about the ethics of our petitioners, fighters for human rights and similar applicants for changes in our criminal and other legislation.

The title of the article in NIN, No 1742, was "A Feeble Word," which is a paraphrase of the line by Branko Miljkovic: "I was killed by a strong word." If Marjanovic goes on this way, he might kill us with a weak word.

7045

CSO: 2800/366

WRITER ABOUT GOLI OTOK REPLIES TO CRITICISM

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jun 84 pp 45-46

[Response by Gojko Nikolis to article entitled "What Would Tito Do Today" by Nino Pavic, published in DANAS, No 115, 22 May 84: "Final Answer"]

[Text] I am outside the country at the moment, so that I am a bit late in sending my answer to the question put to me by Comrade Nino Pavic in DANAS on 22 May.

Pavic's questions are (pryamo skazat', nu a kak zhe? [given in Russian in the original: "to be frank, and why not?"]) investigative in nature, and I therefore feel required on behalf of the law to answer them in the order in which he puts them:

1) I did not "hastily" (I came to the age of maturity long ago) conclude that Pavic was thrusting me in the basket of enemies of our order. Certainly, anyone who is at all literate and who reads Pavic's article "What Would Tito Do Today" with due analytical attention must so conclude, no other conclusion being possible. Attention, readers! In his answer Pavic writes to me that he quoted my words as an "illustration of the public climate," which, according to him, is largely oppositionist; that is, he uses my words as evidence of the action of the opposition! So how could he have written it more clearly! Scripta manent....

2) Pavic does not understand why "today" (Vot, eto net sluchayno [given in Russian in the original: "So, you see, it was no accident"]) speak out concerning Goli Otok, but that at least should be clear to him, since he writes that "they are starting discussions about Goli Otok today" (sic!), which has its political logic and objective benefit to those who want the floor.... Pavic obviously does not want to take the time factor into account (when, what and why something happened), since that kind of objectivity would get in the way of his initial and a priori-istic (unanswerable) thesis of activation of the "enemy" precisely "today." Pavic, that is, as a professional newspaperman, knows quite well that what I had to say about the harsh events on Goli Otok was published exactly 2 years ago (KNJIZEVNA REC, 10 May 1982), that is, at a time when not even Pavic was writing about activation of the enemy and "enemy" (and why not, if he wants to put pressure on me?!). And my sketch was done following a lengthy feature article in NIN which presented

very contradictory and confusing information about Goli Otok, among other things (a revolution for many citizens) information about the extremely inhumane treatment of the inmates. It is well known, then, who was the first to begin the discussion, and when that was.

3) Pavic asked me do I think that the treatment of the followers of the Cominform on Goli Otok (who included, according to the figures which have been published and have not been denied, a considerable number of people who were entirely innocent) was "more inhumane than toward those convicted of murder, theft and rape"? Yes, I think that it was more inhumane. Which is not to say that I think that criminals should be treated inhumanely.

4) Pavic writes: "It is not clear to me (oh, Lord, is there anything in the world that would be clear to Pavic?) whether Nikolis is protesting the Yugoslav practice of administering criminal penalties in general or is only concerned (sic!) about the fate of the followers of the Cominform, and that precisely on Goli Otok?" Comrade Pavic, this question of yours is in the style of Tovarishcha A. Vishinsky [given in Russian in the original: "Comrade A. Vishinsky"], it is patently provocative, arrogant, impudent, dishonorable and I do not intend to answer it at all.

5) Now we come to that most important thing. That question of his which I will compress somewhat: Why did Nikolis not take his position on Goli Otok much earlier, at the time when those things were happening, did he believe that the actions were correct, or is it because he did not know about them ("which certainly is nonsense, since at that time Nikolis was a distinguished leader"), or because he knew everything and held the same opinion as today, he simply did not want to speak out? Here we are! Pavic accuses me of hypocrisy, of cowardice and of moral complicity in the Goli Otok tortures (which in his judgment were nothing more nor less than "variable categories"!). In response to this count in Pavic's bill of indictment I declare as follows under oath:

a) So far in my life I have never been the jailer of my thoughts and convictions (I am not speaking about certain of my errors and conscious self-deceptions). I refuse even today, insofar as it is in my power, to take away my own liberty. As for the compliment that I was a "distinguished leader," I do not need that kind of compliment (it is certain that Pavic does!), since I never had such ambitions.

b) As for the almost identical attack of my character by Goran Babic (Babic's article "Eyes That Can See in the Dark," published in BORBA, 7-8 April 1984), I wrote a letter to the editors of BORBA which so far has not been published, and which I will give here almost verbatim.

So, these are the facts:

I first heard about the existence of certain camps for isolation of Cominform followers (but I knew nothing about their location and still less about the regime that prevailed in them) in 1950 or 1951, when two high officials came to my institution from the security service (one of them was Gen Jovo Kapicic,

at that time an aide to A. Rankovic). They were requesting two or three reliable physicians to be members of a commission to ascertain "health" conditions in a penal camp. The specialized authorities of the military hospital, responsible for such affairs, not I, selected the physicians, and they reported directly to those who requested them, performed their task, and probably submitted even a written report on their findings. The names of those physicians and also their reports were unknown to me personally at that time and have remained so to this day, since it was not in my jurisdiction for them to show it to me, nor was it in my jurisdiction to ask them what they saw there. It is quite probable, as well as understandable, that they were bound to the security service by official secrecy. All of that, then, passed me by, and that must have been the case, and this is my conviction even now, with the system of leadership in our country. Anyone who has any understanding (and I do not believe that Pavic is a total ignoramus in these matters, on the contrary) of the system of leadership and rule both at that time and also today will believe me when I say this. There existed and there exists today services which operate on their own and independently of one another. Thus the medical service of the Yugoslav People's Army, which I headed, did not have, nor did it need to have, any jurisdiction whatsoever over the security service, nor any insight into it. Incidentally, I wish Pavic would tell me in what state of the world at that time or this time requires the political police to report on its work to the head of an army medical service?! Please give me an answer.

c) There is no doubt about it whatsoever, Nino Pavic sent his questions and suspicions to a completely wrong address. To be sure, he proclaims me to have been a "distinguished leader of our armed forces," but he does this in order to have a psychological impact on readers (look at him, a distinguished leader, and he now pretends he knew nothing!), since he, Pavic, knew very well that I was the head of the military medical service, which is only just a little part of the structure of any army. So that he might satisfy his curiosity, I advise Pavic to gather up his civic and professional courage and to call upon the high and highest leaders of our country to hear what they will have to say to us. It is certain that they would have something to say if they wished--or dared. Hic Rhodus, hic salta. It is easy to strike a blow at a physician, even one who was a "revolutionary" and "chief" of the medical service. But so long as we are discussing "distinguished leaders," I happen to know that among those who were at the very top of our political pyramid at that time included some who truly (I must believe them) did not know what was happening on Goli Otok; that is, they also did not decide what sort of regime was to be introduced there, which, according to Pavic, there is "no point" in believing. So who, then, did make the decision? Let Pavic put a question to that effect, but not to me. Need I even mention that our public for decades was not informed; what is more, it did not even dare to ask anything about this taboo topic. That kind of Kafkian climate, that lack of democracy, that kind of stonewalling attitude toward society were not symptoms of a healthy socialism, and it is in that sense that I would have my assertion taken to the effect that events on Goli Otok were objectively aimed against socialism (Pavic insists that I take a position on this as well). My conviction was and still is that dirty means cannot and must not be used in the name of pure ends such as are contained in the concept and program of

socialism. The means and the end are dialectically interdependent. The cleaner the means, the closer to the end. There is no compromise here, nor is any such compromise necessary. On the contrary.

d) This entire situation recalled today's events in Kosovo. This time again, according to declarations made at the top political level, "nothing was known." If that is true, then we truly cannot avoid the question of the health and democratic functioning of our political system, especially since there were people who knew, but who did not dare to speak out, or who did speak out (long, long ago), and they were made to pay for it.

I would like to mention that Pavic omitted to answer my direct question as to whether he approved or not everything that was done to living human beings on Goli Otok?

Finally, I would remind Nino Pavic of the truth: not even nine of the world's wisest men would be able to answer all the questions which can be put by just one ... man. Pavic could put another 1,001 of them, more sensible and honestly than now, and less maliciously and with less insinuation, I will not answer him again. For me this "conversation" is over.

P.S. In DANAS, No 119, in an article entitled "Positions and the Petition," I can't figure on what basis Comrade Dane Popovic makes an assertion about my ties with Milovan Djilas. I have no physical or intellectual ties whatsoever. I am among those who condemned Djilas' actions both during the war as well as afterward. But that is a separate topic. I do not wish to write a single word more about Goli Otok. It is all clear.

I placed my signature on the petition concerning the death of R. Radovic by the dictate of my own conscience and by no one else's. Everyone else can have his own and different conscience. Why does Comrade Popovic, as a veteran who entered the fight in 1941, not put his reputation on the line and publish that notorious petition in its entirety? How long are we going to shout one part of the truth from the rooftops and keep the other part in secrecy?

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BOOK DISCUSSES MACEDONIAN, OTHER MINORITIES IN ALBANIA

Belgrade SOCIJALIZAM in Serbo-Croatian No 3, Mar 84 pp 460-464

[Review by Boris Nonevski of book "Makedoncite vo Albanija" [Macedonians in Albania] by Dragoljub K. Budimovski, NIO "Studentski zbor," Skopje, 1983, 156 pp]

[Text] As is well known, the Balkan Wars broke to pieces the unified living ethnic organism of Macedonia. The neighboring states (Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria), following the defeat of weakened Turkey ("the sick man from the Bosphorus"), divided up Macedonia as war booty among themselves. The peace treaty in Bucharest (1913) "settled" accounts, and each of the states mentioned broke off from Macedonia approximately as large an area as its armies had occupied. Under that document Greece captured a portion of Aegean Macedonia, Serbia Vardar Macedonia, and Bulgaria Pirin Macedonia. Albania, a state which had just come into being, also obtained a part of the ethnic territory of Macedonia at the table covered with green felt. A subsequent correction of borders between Greece and Albania (1923) gave to Albania "the area of Mala Prespa, inhabited exclusively by Macedonians. In 1925 there would also be a demarcation of boundaries between Albania and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The Saint Naum Monastery on the shore of Lake Ohrid, an important Slavic monument, now fell within the borders of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and more than 20 Debar villages in the Golo Brdo area were surrendered to Albania. Even after this trade ... 1.77 percent of the ethnic area of Macedonia fell within the political boundaries of neighboring Albania, representing 4.19 percent of total Albanian territory" (pp 69-70).

Whereas the broad Yugoslav public has been familiarized to some extent with the historical destiny of Aegean and Pirin Macedonians, with respect to the fate of our people who remained in the state boundaries of Albania--as a consequence of the closed nature of that country, a rare phenomenon in the contemporary world--what the broad public has learned about the life of Macedonians in Albania has been somewhere between scanty and oblivion. This problem has been a subject of research in rare specialized articles mostly in the field of history. The book by Dragoljub Budimovski spreads apart the bars of that prison-country (for the Albanian people and for the minorities living in it) and peeks beneath the mimicry of the official positions and proclamations. And, as far as I know, this is the first book of any size in our country

which has systematically concerned itself with the problem of the Macedonian minority in Albania, respecting equally its historical and contemporary aspects.

Budimovski starts his investigation with the treatment (phenomenon) of ethnic minorities in the contemporary world and the practice of the international community in resolving this problem. The greatest attention is paid to organizations and constructive international acts which protect the rights of ethnic minorities. Most of the discussion in this part of the book concerns the United Nations Charter and then the Convention on Prevention and Punishment of the Crimes of Genocide, derived from it, a convention which protects basic human rights of members of minorities; the European Convention on Protection of the Rights of Man and Basic Freedoms, and especially the Convention on Prohibition of Discrimination in Education, which contains special rules concerning minorities and whose Article 5 states that the signatory countries assume the obligation to "recognize the right of members of ethnic minorities to engage in their own educational activities, including the maintenance of schools, and, depending on the education policy of each state, they may use their own language" (p 14). Recording and commenting on the international legal acts and instruments which sanction the rights of minorities, the author comes to the Final Communiqué of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, in which all European countries took part except Albania and were joined by the United States and Canada. One distinguished provision in that document is one which states that "the participating state on whose territory there are ethnic minorities will respect the right of equality before the law of persons belonging to those minorities, shall grant every opportunity for the authentic exercise of human rights and basic freedoms, and shall in that manner protect their legitimate interests in that domain" (p 16).

After presenting in broad outlines the international regulations concerning national minorities, the author elucidates the Yugoslav positions on this matter and our own practice in resolving the problems of the rights of ethnic minorities. In so doing he turns particularly to the rights and freedoms enjoyed by members of the Albanian minority in Yugoslavia. But since the principle of reciprocity has been adopted in international policy with respect to protection of minorities, consistent with the spirit of the United Nations Charter and the conventions derived from it, our country has also legitimized its interests in the destiny of minorities of Yugoslav peoples living in neighboring countries through its own practice concerning the rights and freedoms enjoyed in our countries by the ethnic minorities of neighboring countries. This makes it incumbent upon us, the author goes on to state, to seek on an equal basis that the rights of our own ethnic minorities are appropriately guaranteed in neighboring countries, which would also include Albania. However, what has been the practice in that country with respect to the rights of ethnic minorities, that is, with respect to the rights of the Macedonian minority? The Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania (adopted 28 December 1976) provides in Article 42: "Ethnic minorities shall be guaranteed defense and development of their culture and ethnic traditions, the use of their native language and instruction in that language in schools, equal development in all spheres of social life.

"Every privilege or ethnic inequality and every action infringing the rights of ethnic minorities shall be unconstitutional and shall be punishable under the law." That is how matters stand on paper. However, what has been happening in practice?

As is well known, aside from Macedonians, there are also Greeks, Montenegrins, Serbs, Wallachians, Turks and Gypsies living in Albania as ethnic minorities. Our neighbor does not question their existence. But in line with its policy of a "pure" Albania, it has been endeavoring year after year, contrary to biological laws, to reduce their number in the population. The identity of ethnic minorities is concealed in the census, although the constitution opposes "ethnic inequalities." The results on the population count and the statistical yearbook give figures only on Albanians, and the rest of the population (all the minorities together) is given as a percentage, but with no breakdown by ethnic group. In the light of these "statistical data," which follow the trend of minimizing the size of the population in Albania, Ramadan Marmulaku wrote a book "Albanija i albanci" [Albania and the Albanians] (Archon Books, London-New York, 1975) in which he states that in 1975 Albania had a population of 2,226,000, 95 percent of whom were Albanians. The same book "proves" that in 1961 2.4 percent were Greeks, 0.9 percent, or 15,000, Macedonians and Montenegrins, 0.6 percent Wallachians and the same percentage, or 10,000, Gypsies.

Dragoljub Budimovski refutes those figures with subsequent research and concludes that the percentage of ethnic minorities in the total Albanian population ranges between 18 and 20 percent. He also documents the argument that the figure is inaccurate which states that Macedonians and Montenegrins make up 0.9 percent of the Albanian population, that is, 15,000 inhabitants, but states rather that the accurate figure is that Macedonians alone amount to more than 100,000. On what basis did D. Budimovski arrive at that result?

Whereas Albanian official policy and its statistics have been attempting to cover the trail of Macedonians in the recent past, it has not been able to erase from the historic memory records of our people, of the Macedonian ethnic regions, villages and families. Here we will enumerate the ethnic areas of Macedonia within the boundaries of Albania in the order in which the author gives them: Gorijska (northeast of Korca to Biliste and Trstenik on the Albanian-Greek border in the direction of Kostur); Dolna Prespa (to the south of Lake Prespa); a portion of the Ohrid-Struga area (southwestern portion, west of the city Podgradec); Golo Brdo (southwest of Debar) and a part of Gora (north of Piskopeja, between the right bank of the Crni Drim and the Yugoslav-Albanian border, the other part of which is on the Yugoslav border southwest of Prizren to Sara and Korab). Aside from these entities in Albania, as a result of historical circumstances, ethnic oases also came into being, and even in the cities there are certain neighborhoods inhabited by Macedonians.

Using these figures, taking into account, that is, the number of villages in these regions, their size (number of households) and the average family size from the time when such figures were accessible, and taking the results through the statistical procedure of forecasting, D. Budimovski arrived at

the figure that more than 100,000 Macedonians are living on Albanian soil. Taking into account certain discrepancies which have to be honored in making a statistical projection, certain shifts with respect to the number of Macedonians are possible. Certainly that number should be reduced by the number of those who suffered in the camps and prisons (on which there are no records), but there are considerably more of our people in Albania than the "3,000-4,000 distributed in 9 villages of Prespa," where--as Enver Hoxha said in his address at the 7th Congress of the Albanian Labor Party (1975)--"they enjoy all rights."

We can imagine what sort of rights are "enjoyed" by people in a totalitarian country, but the very fact that Albania has reduced its constitutional obligation to ethnic minorities to "3,000-4,000 Macedonians" clearly indicates the "respect" for legality and the reduction of the rights of minorities in that country. Our neighbor does not allow the minority rights customary in the civilized world even to that restricted population. What do those rights actually come down to?

After the Liberation the Macedonian community was allowed to educate its children in their native language. At that time Yugoslavia was sending teachers and school supplies in the framework of good-neighborly relations and mutual cooperation under a treaty with Albania, and Macedonian schools began to operate as a result of that cooperation. Yet this did not last long. In 1948 when the Cominform Resolution was adopted, that cooperation, just like every other cooperation as a matter of fact, was terminated, and the Macedonian children were taken over by teachers with rudimentary training. Ties were broken with the Macedonian culture and language, and the textbooks were printed in the Prespa dialect. Yet they treat subject matter whose aim is the gradual and systematic deculturation of the Macedonians. "All the textbooks have an exaggerated tendency to furnish knowledge about the Albanian nationality" (p 104). In the schools "there is parallel instruction in the Albanian language. Only in the first grade is instruction in Macedonian, in the second grade Albanian is studied 3 hours a week, the same in the third grade, and in the fourth grade the children spend 3 hours every day studying Albanian. In addition, the subjects arithmetic and geography are taught in Albanian" (p 101). This gradual transition is explained as a "preparation for the higher grades," but actually the reference is to a very careful denationalization and assimilation, since instruction is in Albanian from the fourth grade on. So, there is no complete education in the native language, and there is a ban against organizing separate cultural and artistic societies; there is not a single newspaper or magazine published; over the radio and television there is not a minute of programming in the Macedonian language; there is no possibility for Macedonians in Albania to communicate with their parent country. Thus the Macedonians in Albania have been left to themselves, to their traditions from the past, to their language and customs.

Emphasizing that the existence of the Macedonian nationality and Macedonian minority in Albania is not denied, that only in that country, by contrast with other countries where there is a Macedonian minority, it has some sort of right to education in its native language, Budimovski turns to Albanian internal policy toward the Macedonians. Aside from striving to minimize

their numbers, recently our neighbor has been working ever more vigorously on assimilation. That was the purport of the Law on First and Last Names (1976), whereby all church names and names which are not purely Albanian are to be replaced on an ethnically pure basis with names from the autochthonous Illyrism" (p 110). In the compact Macedonian region insupportable economic conditions are created so that the population is forced to move away into the cities where the possibilities for assimilation are greater, since people have been torn out of their ethnic environment. Religion, which brought the Macedonian ethnic minority together in services, has been abolished by decree, and recently the conclusion of mixed marriages has been stressed, and the children are registered as Albanian even though the father or mother may be Macedonian.

Aside from setting forth the general trends, Dragoljub Budimovski supplements his journalistic work with the testimony of eyewitnesses, with what the foreign press has written about this problem, and also with the disclosures of prisoners who have managed somehow to get out of that country, which is itself a camp. This rounds out the picture of the Macedonian minority in Albania. However, in spite of the exceptional effort made--since all sources and direct empirical material were not accessible to him--the author was unable to completely round out the gloomy picture of the Macedonian ethnic minority in this neighboring country. But what he has gathered and systematized fills a large gap in the literature concerning this problem. The book under review was organized for newspaper serialization and has been written in a language easy to understand. These characteristics recommend it equally for the scholarly public and the broadest group of readers.

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